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ABSTRACT

This serial issue is devoted to clarifying the attitudes of the various parties or "social partners" to vocational training in the Member States of the European Community. Following an editorial introducing the topic are these articles: "The Community Social Dialogue" (Roland Tavitian); "From the Market Jungle to the Social Dialogue: Vocational Training and the Community" (Francoise Theunissen); "Role of the Social Partners in Training from the UNICE [Employers Confederation of Europe] Point of View" (Andrew Moore); "Europe after Maastricht" (Ernst Piehl); "Continuing Training for the Employed: A Europe of Diversity" (Peter Auer); "Forward Management of Employment and Vocational Training" (Louis Mallet); "Local System-Building and Policy at National and European Level" (Peer Hull Kristensen); "Some Key Developments in the Role of the Vocational Training Partners in France" (Jean-Francoise Germe); "Coordination of a Number of Agencies for Vocational Training in Emilia Romagna" (Vittorio Capecchi); "Employers, Unions, and Consultative Forums in Dutch Vocational Education" (Jeroen Onstenk); "Participation of the Social Partners in Education Policy: Decision-Making Relating to Training Colleges in Portugal" (Margarida Marques); "Flexible Coordination: The Future of the Dual System from a Labour Market Policy Angle" (Guenther Schmid); "The Role of Government and the Two Sides of Industry in Vocational Training" (Ingeborg Weegmann); and "Shortages of Qualified Labour in Britain: A Problem of Training or Skill Utilisation?" (Alice Lam, David Marsden). Thirteen pages of annotated print information sources are provided. (YLB)

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The role of the State and the social partners: mecanisms and spheres of influence

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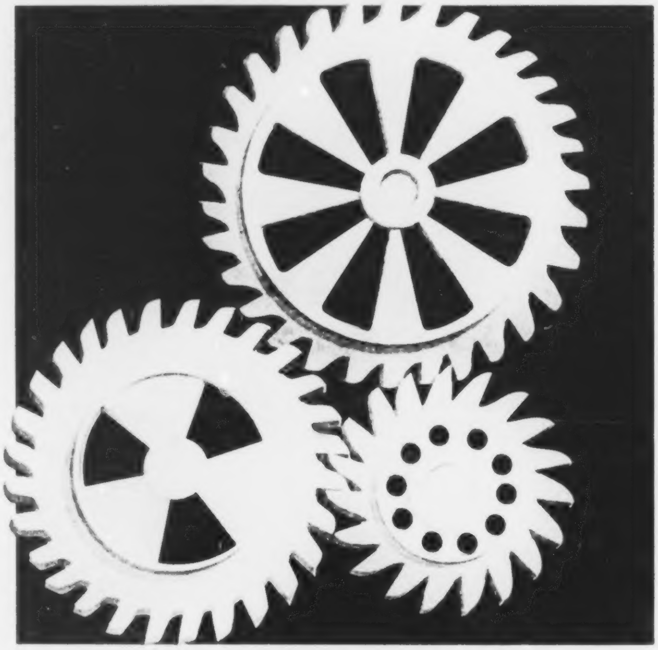

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CEDEFOP
European Centre for the Development
of Vocational Training
Jean Monnet House
Bundesallee 22, D-1000 Berlin 15
Tel.: (030) 88 41 20
Telex: 184 163 eucen d
Fax: (030) 88 41 22 22

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Editorial staff:

Content and structure:
Fernanda Reis
Georges Dupont

Technical production, coordination:
Bernd Möhlmann
Barbara de Souza

Translation service:
Alison Clark

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Dear Readers,

human resources are a key factor in helping Europe to compete as it faces the challenges of rival economies worldwide, and there is no doubt that a top priority for Europe over the coming years will be to build up a capital of skilled human resources. But acquiring skills is a long and complex process: it is very much a "social enterprise" in which many interdependent factors (formal and informal) come into play. At the centre of this enterprise - to which several parties contribute at different points - is basic and continuing vocational training. Admittedly investment in education has for several decades been a priority in the Member States, but in future it will be investment in training which will increase dramatically and at an unprecedented rate. All this will call for new thinking and new attitudes to training, in particular its relationship to education. The problem is to decide what type of vocational training will be required, but a debate is also needed on what vocational training can and cannot do.

To understand the role, place and structure of vocational training systems, they have to be reconsidered in terms of their effect on society, and here the attitudes of the various parties involved - the State and the authorities, individuals and their representatives, economic operators and their representatives, and the training world itself - are crucial.

In each country, vocational training systems operate according to their own specific rules and practices. If a change is made in one area, it may involve changing an entire system whose degree of internal and external interdependence at both national and Community level is not yet fully understood.

In order to grasp the operational logic of these systems, at least two types of question have to be asked:

The educational model: respective weight of general and vocational training; the degree of institutionalization of the educational system; its capacity to react to changes in the labour market; the extent to which that system is consistent nationwide; major developments over recent years; the social and vocational hierarchy of the various types of training; the extent to which some groups are excluded; trends in output rates; both the quantitative and the qualitative links between basic and continuing training.

Type(s) of labour market: predominance of job markets or internal markets; types of mobility; links with the educational system; main ways in which training is reflected in job classification scales; types of unemployment.

In this complex web of relationships, how do the relative roles and places of the various partners involved in vocational training actually fit together? What types of relationship can they foster - information, consultation, negotiation, co-management, etc. - in practical situations as regards the planning, provision, monitoring and assessment of training?

In the field of initial training and in predominantly school-based systems, the State is the main training provider and the source of its funding, although it may intervene in different ways. But this type of training is being increasingly questioned by those who make use of the skills (primarily employers); they criticize the State for not supplying the skills that it is felt the economy needs. In fact the question should be put differently. In the current climate of change and uncertainty, true "professionalism" can be acquired only in the workplace. This professionalism presupposes that knowledge and practical expertise have been acquired during basic training and are broad enough for the person to transfer from one activity to another. But it also presupposes that patterns of behaviour have been assimilated, something that can happen only through a process of socialization in a working situation, whether or not this process is backed by continuing training.

School-centred systems of initial training, therefore, are having to adjust to a context in which knowledge can be acquired from many different sources. At the same time they must not lose sight of the tasks that only they can do. They should not yield to the temptation to provide training that is too job-specific, with the risk of education and training establishments merely meeting the demand for "short-term" skills.

Schools are having to be more open-minded to their economic and social environment and more receptive to the social dialogue, and this in turn is leading them to devise new institutional and operational structures. The communication system to regulate these structures may not yet be in place.

What are these new structures? What communication infrastructure is already in place? What are the methods of communication, and what is the substance being communicated?

How and by whom are market tensions regulated during the transitional phase when young people move from school to work (greater uniformity in the number of people emerging from the training system, better use of skills, etc.)? What role can the State and the social partners play here, and what form could their contribution take?

Alternance training is one of the main ways of attempting to combine theory and practice. But is the provision of training being modified by the institutional changes and the sharing of funding by the State and employers? And, once again, what role does the State play and what social dialogue exists in this process?

Employers are a major source of funding for continuing training, and they have a pivotal role in defining the proper content of training and the groups that have access to training. Even so, despite the genuine strategies for the development of human resources that are being introduced in the workplace and the trend towards investment in types of training which go further than meeting the immediate demands of the working situation, continuing training is unevenly distributed. It still favours people who are already trained and fails to cater for entire marginal groups in the working population, whose likelihood of gaining a foothold in a highly competitive labour market, one that demands ever higher qualifications, thus declines. In most Member States, it is the State that provides and finances training schemes designed to reduce unemployment.

This situation is becoming entrenched, prompting a number of questions. How important is in-company negotiation on the management of human resources? How should we tackle the question of funding training schemes which go beyond the employer's immediate requirements and may therefore encourage internal and external mobility? Do employers have a social responsibility towards people with the least chance on the job market? What is the role of training in reducing unemployment, and what role can the State actually play in regulating the labour market? Finally, if high unemployment is a fact of life, how should initial training systems be adapted? What opportunities will the various parties involved have to influence this realignment?

What instruments are available to the State to promote the development of continuing training? How is the dialogue on vocational training to be organized within the workplace, and what is the purpose of this dialogue? How does the workplace dialogue link in with the dialogue among the various partners in outside bodies?

Vocational training is a subject that mobilizes all the partners involved, albeit in different ways. It is a key element in the provision of skilled human resources, the urgency of which is heightened by the changing patterns on the labour market. This process has no meaning unless it is set within a coherent structure of relationships between the State, the working world, the individuals themselves and their representatives, and unless greater account is taken of the local, regional, national and European dimensions. Important questions have to be clarified: who represents whom in this structure? Who are the actual interlocutors in the dialogue, since the State and the social partners are entities made up of different bodies and levels of representation? Are the existing forms of representation changing?

The efforts made in recent years to promote a dialogue are clear evidence of the partners' desire to be part of this structure. At Community level, the setting up of a Social Dialogue Group, principally to address questions of vocational training (see this Group's opinions in the Bibliography section), also bears witness to this commitment.

This edition of the Bulletin seeks to clarify the attitudes of the various parties to vocational training in the Member States. The aim is not so much to describe their role in individual countries, but rather to analyze this role by asking a number of basic questions. The starting point is that vocational training cannot be fully effective unless all the partners involved foster a permanent relationship with each other which is consistent with the roles they have to play, the places where they operate and every component of the social structure, all within the framework of broad economic and social policy laid down by the State. But here again we have to clarify what is to be the basis of this dialogue and how it is to be established.

To conclude, we should like to stress the growing importance of the Community in the economic and social field and the role of a dialogue between the partners at Community level in the definition of training policy.

The editorial staff

The Community Social Dialogue

- its evolution and the challenges -

The Community social dialogue differs from other forms of participation for the social partners: here they are expected to assume the leading role in initiatives and in negotiation. Considerable impetus has been imparted to this dialogue by the agreement reached by the Eleven at Maastricht, in that for the first time there is direct, transparent recognition for the initiative of the partners, and also that in the formulation of the principle of "horizontal" subsidiarity (recognition of their potential role in laws and regulations at Community level).

This article discusses the gradual evolution of the Community dialogue since 1985, linked with preparations for the Single Market. It looks at the challenges of this dialogue - which is both idealistic and a necessity. Lastly, it considers the three main issues the partners will have to tackle: adding to the range of "products" of the dialogue (outline agreements, codes of practice, recommendations), strengthening negotiating capacity and above all reinforcing the structured links between the Community and national systems, between the global and the industry-specific.

The social dialogue among representatives of employers and workers is one specific aspect - if undoubtedly the most delicate - of the whole system of that active participation on the part of social and economic operators which the Community has sought to cultivate and promote right from the start.

Roland Tavitian

Consultant and Professor at the European Business School, Brussels

One essential feature distinguishes the social dialogue from other forms of such participation by the social partners and their consultation by the Commission as to its initiatives, and from tripartite structures such as CEDEFOP or the Dublin Foundation: it is that the partners themselves rather than a Community institution have to assume the main role. At most, a Community agency will take on the role of intermediary or broker.

The practical implication of this approach is that it transposes to Community level a principle and practice that are common to, if unevenly spread, in most Member States: that there should be a forum for independent initiative, responsibility and negotiation specific to the social partners in those fields where joint action on their part would be more pertinent than action by institutions.

Defined in this way, the social dialogue can be viewed either as Utopian (and Utopianism can be seen as creative by some, dangerous by others) or as a vital necessity. It is Utopian because of the diversity of systems and cultures in the nations concerned and by the very nature of the subjects to be tackled, as we shall discuss. It is vitally needed, as it is a pillar of the democratization of the Community system (at least for those who accept that the participation of social partners is a mainstay of the democratic process). It is understandable that this dialogue should be both a laborious learning process and a slow conquest.

The Maastricht Treaty - or more specifically the Agreement on social policy annexed to the Treaty signed by all the Member States except the United Kingdom[1] - is a stride forward in the development of this dialogue.

The Treaty formally recognizes the role of the social partners in two articles (2 and 3 of the Agreement). These cover the consultation of these partners by Community authorities and the dialogue among these partners, which may lead to contractual relations, including agreements".

More specifically, the Agreement represents a qualitative improvement in two respects.

For the first time, the social partners have taken a direct, transparent part in the Community decision-making process by working together to draw up a text which was accepted more or less as it stood at Maastricht.

For the first time, too, Community law has clearly recognized the twofold principle of subsidiarity in social matters: the subsidiarity of the Community with regard to certain Member States (article 1), but also the subsidiarity of institutions with regard to the Community social partners, when they are better placed to take on certain tasks.

Furthermore, the open-ended approach (dialogue, contractual relationships, agreements) is an invitation to explore a whole range of intermediate solutions, from simple meetings to binding agreements.

This has, then, created an important tool for the social partners, and over the next few months they will show what they can do with it. It is a tool forged by hard-won experience. Laws and regulations are of value only if the practice that accompanies and in many cases precedes them are valid. Maastricht is the culmination of practice that has been evolving, especially since the 1985 conference. In this article we shall not discuss the consultation (which by now is standard practice) between the Commission and the social partners, but concentrate on the direct dialogue between the social partners on three issues:

- how and on what points has the dialogue developed up to now?
- what problems does it have to tackle?
- how will the social partners respond to the challenges of Maastricht?

The Community social dialogue: recent achievements

Over the past twenty years there has been a social dialogue within the Community on two levels:

- inter-industry, on horizontal questions, between the Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE), the European Centre of Public Enterprises (CEEP) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), and
- sectorial, between employers' organizations and trade unions in a number of sectors.

It has obviously been the dialogue at inter-industry level that has taken the central role. It began in embryo in the 1970s under the Standing Employment Committee and the tripartite Conferences (a joint declaration on vocational training was produced as far back as in 1974), but it then became bogged down in the pessimism of the early 1980s.

It was relaunched as a result of the impetus imparted by President Jacques Delors at the Val Duchesse conference on 25 November 1985, in the context of preparations for the Single Market.

Manfred Vollmer

On 12 November the conference took note of the social partners' agreement to an outline "strategy for cooperation on growth and employment" (which it was felt should accompany the implementation of the Single Market). Two groups were set up. The first, for "new technologies and the social dialogue", adopted a joint view on the training, motivation, information and consultation of workers in March 1987. The second, on "macro-economics", issued joint views on the economic situation in 1986 and 1987. The President of the Council presented these views to the European Council in June 1987.

A joint meeting at the Palais d'Egmont in Brussels on 12 January 1989 reviewed the situation and introduced an important innovation: a pilot group was set up at political level to monitor the work of the groups and provide significant follow-up. The method of having the working groups formulate joint views was continued, and two major fields were defined:

- the "Education and Training" group issued two joint views in 1990;
- the "Employment Market" group looked at the employment aspects of the implementation of the Single European Act. Significantly, the first view it produced, in 1990, was on the "creation of a European geographical and occupational mobility space and improvement in the operation of the labour market"; the second was on the delicate problem of the organization of work and the adaptability of the employment market.

By the mid-1990s, then, the social parties had a number of texts setting out their common views on certain major aspects of economic and social development. Even so, they wanted to know what the actual impact of these texts would be, and the pilot group was directed towards two tasks:

1. First of all, it was clear that most of the practical measures would have to be taken within Member States, often by the social partners themselves. It is often easier for their representatives to sign a declaration or produce a Community view than to bring the attitudes of national operators in line with those views.
A joint declaration by UNICE, CEEP and ETUC issued on 10 July 1990 expressed concern about extending the life of these views and asked for a twofold commitment: European secretariats should publicize the views "at every level", and member organizations were asked to look at the views together at national level and to judge their "value and usefulness in the national and European context". As far as is known, the results of this invitation are fairly limited.

2. The group's other task was to introduce into the basic Community rules provision for extending joint opinions by formal agreements (contractual relations). The Treaty of Rome makes no provision for such agreements. At the Council's invitation, the pilot group drafted and in November 1991 adopted the text of two articles of the Treaty of Political Union, formulating this principle and defining its framework. This major innovation was accepted by the European Council and - with only one amendment - incorporated in the Treaty.

A few key ideas are apparent from this brief review of the background:

1. In the social dialogue as it has evolved since 1985, intensive work has been possible and shared concepts have been hammered out, or at least now there is a narrow gap between views on some of the most delicate of the problems generated by current economic changes. In particular, the acute conflict as to flexibility (the employers' main theme in the 1980s) has been analyzed and to a great extent settled by reference to the concept of adaptability. Fairly clear-cut guidelines have been proposed. We have gone beyond the simplistic ideologies of the past.

2. The field of action is (relatively) clear. Practical experience over the past few years has shown that it would be fairly unrealistic to tackle the main field of national collective relations, for example on matters of pay and hours of work. The European Community's role seems to lie rather in the organization of labour, training, mobility and certain aspects of working conditions - all of them fields in which it is hard to lay down specific rules and regulations.

3. There are, however, clear-cut problems directly linked to the Single Market, where such rules and regulations could well be envisaged. For example, there is the issue of informing and consulting workers in transnational groups. The dialogue on such points is not coming to a conclusion, and the Commission is having to revert to the classic route of proposals of directives.

4. Since Maastricht, the legal preliminaries are (partially) waived. The possibility of contractual relationships and agreements at Community level is embodied at least in a Community Agreement if not in the Treaty. Some progress has also been made with the mandate for European organizations to negotiate on behalf of their national members.

The Community social dialogue and the issues

The social dialogue is one of the fields most sensitive to European integration. Customarily relegated to slow, discreet back-room work, on occasions it is brought to the fore and can provoke a crisis (as at Maastricht), before returning to its quasi-confidential approach.

Manfred Vollmer

The fact is that the social dialogue relates to certain aspects of social life in which the differences among member countries are the most marked. There are major differences among their respective systems of contractual relationships. Above all, there are differences in the very perception of their role and value. In Germany, the social dialogue is one of the cornerstones of the socio-political system, but contractual relationships are institutionalized only at sector level. The social dialogue is a widespread practice in France and Italy, particularly at inter-industry level, but it relies less on consensus and is dominated by a "statutory" right. The United Kingdom is wary of such a dialogue, tending to decentralize contractual relationships as low as possible.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the development of the Community social dialogue and its usefulness, content and methods are constantly questioned (and challenged).

Its usefulness: there are of course those who oppose it as a matter of principle or for doctrinaire reasons. There are also the sceptics (and they are more numerous today): heads of enterprises who are firm believers in the importance of dialogue at their own level find it hard to understand (or may even fear) the same dialogue at the summit level.

Its content: there is continuing tension between Community partners on where the dialogue is leading. The unions are anxious to see practical, visible results and try to arrive at formal agreements, whereas employers prefer exchanges of views and non-binding conclusions whose impact is more than uncertain.

Its method: whether the end result is a simple conclusion or formal agreement, what is essential is whether the effects are transmitted to national organizations, enterprises and workers. It has to be recognized that the 1990 joint declaration, based on this objective, has had only a limited influence. But there is no reason to believe that formal agreements might have had a more marked impact. At a time of decentralization, subsidiarity and the autonomy of enterprises, the inter-industry social dialogue is finding it hard to gauge its impact.

Nevertheless it is essential, for three reasons:

1. Politically, it is the main path towards securing the cooperation and participation of social partners in the construction of Europe.

2. It is the essential instrument in tackling and solving certain major problems of economic integration and the Single market, whether in the restructuring of companies or in the information and consultation of workers.

3. Finally, it contributes towards a lasting rapprochement of employee and employer attitudes - a prime condition for the cohe-

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sion of the Community as a whole (if only, for example, on monetary unification and the convergence of prices).

A threeefold challenge

Following the Maastricht milestone, the social partners in the Community are facing a threefold challenge:

- enriching the range of their outlets
- reinforcing their own negotiation capacity
- constructing links between the Community dialogue and national dialogues, in other words translating the principle of subsidiarity into practice.

Enriching the range of outlets of the social dialogue

The Maastricht text mentions two still fluid concepts: contractual relationships and agreements. Recent experience of the dialogue has shown that its most significant results do not necessarily come for a formal agreement. Fields such as adaptability and training lend themselves more readily to outline agreements (a concept unknown in certain member countries), recommendations or codes of good practice rather than a straightforward agreement.

Union representatives are far less wary of these flexible arrangements, but the difficulties encountered in making effective use of common opinions in the social dialogue at national level are causing them to think again.

Paradoxically, it has to be admitted that it is far more demanding for the social partners to follow up a recommendation or code of practice than a simple directive. You no longer have the legal mechanisms but you have to embark on more subtle evaluations and reviews - and, in addition, things are far less visible. This brings us back to the tricky problem of interlinking different levels.

Nevertheless, an understanding on flexible commitments of this kind would undoubtedly be easier if UNICE could adopt a less fearful and a more imaginative attitude and succeeded in launching a credible initiative. Is it a question of the balance of strength, or of self-confidence?

Reinforcing negotiating capacity

The European Trade Union Council has long called for negotiation without having the capacity to do so. This ambiguity has been cleared up in formal terms at its Luxembourg congress in 1990. UNICE is currently facing the same problem, which sooner or later it will have to solve.

An example in this respect has been set by CEEP and certain sectors, such as the building industry and the retail distribution trades, where "declaratory" agreements have in fact been achieved.

Stern

Structuring the various levels of dialogue

This is the main problem underlying the other two. Whereas French and Italian legislators are just discovering subsidiarity, social negotiators in the same countries have been moving in this direction for a very long time. The interlinking of national, sector and in-company agreements is a complex matter, and the solutions reached vary.

The emergence of a Community level adds to this complexity and its incorporation calls for time and a pragmatic approach.

For some time the Community social partners have started to work for closer relations between the inter-industry and the sectorial - between ETUC and the European union secretariats and between UNICE and European groupings.

The main task, however, is the interlinking of the Community level with the various national levels. Germany, for example, has only sectorial collective agreements. The logic of the domestic market and monetary union is strong enough to stimulate the imagination and structures of the social partners.

At operational level, CEDEFOP is well aware of these problems of structuring and interlinking. How can the convergence (or merely the findings) arrived at in the course of its work be taken into practical account by those involved in vocational training? How can the use of its products be optimized in such a widely varying world as that of vocational training? The experience and thinking developed by and around CEDEFOP over the past fifteen years have created a shared culture and many networks. It can be hoped that the new phase on which the major participants in the social dialogue are now entering will be enriched by this culture of diversity that has been created in Berlin.

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(1) This is not the place to consider the legal and political problems generated by the UK's refusal; although they are far from negligible, they should be debated in another sphere.

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"From the market jungle to the social dialogue: vocational training and the Community"

An integral part of the social and economic construction process, vocational training is seen as being at the very heart of different and contradictory trends. As the issues change, so do the fora and structures for consultation and negotiation. With closer links between initial and continuing training and the working world, the reallocation of responsibilities among the social partners, the State and the individual is being redefined.

Why does the Community invest money, people and even its own authority in vocational training? Why not leave it to individuals and employers to match supply and demand for the greater good of development as a whole, with national authorities making corrective adjustments? Is a "Community training policy" really necessary?

The sheer scale of the financial commitment to this sector is evidence of the powerful interests at stake, providing the rationale for the welter of new production and communication techniques and, it is said, responding to the newly emerging needs of individuals and organizations.

Françoise Theunissen
Representative of the European Trade Union Confederation for the social dialogue and Chairman of CEDEFOP's Management Board.

Technological change in industry and the service sector is in turn forcing changes in the ways work is organized and skills acquired. The single criterion of profitability is giving way to varied forms of organization in which persons or groups have "controlled independence". This change calls for a redefinition of skill requirements, affecting behaviour-related aspects such as team work, the need for retraining and an ongoing commitment to training.

The growth in demand for training from individuals and institutions calls for a reassessment of how our socio-democratic societies perceive training:

■ First of all, the training market, which until now has been under the umbrella of "national education systems", is having to open out to firms and individuals offering their services in many fields, ranging from language courses to information management.

Gone are the contracts under which the State gave companies the responsibility for agreed segments of practical training: training firms are springing up and prospering. Rather than having to "go to school", people can now buy training like goods off the shelf.

This growth in commercial services is part of what is almost an anti-State privatization movement, with the public sector losing its legal protection (national education as a public or subsidized *service*) and giving way to market competition (training as a *commercial sector*).

■ The processes of democratization are also affected. Given that training is an integral factor in social and economic development, the ways in which it is perceived by various interest groups are often different and sometimes contradictory.

The various people involved know that it is not an end in itself but an instrument of economic and social policy. As this new field of intervention gradually expands we are seeing a move away from the slow historical evolution in which - as education became a major factor in political and social democracy - training was gradually incorporated into education.

As training-linked issues loom larger, the framework for consultation and negotiation is modified, thus influencing legislative and contractual systems.

Furthermore, the intrinsic link between investment in technology, changes in working patterns and skills reappraisal has brought training into the arena of social and collective bargaining. Instead of the linear pattern of previous years, when education and employment happened in separate periods of a person's life, the pattern now is the interlinking of initial training, continuing training and work, and this has meant redefining the responsibilities exercised by the social partners, the State and individuals.

These responsibilities are structured among those fora where responsible "citizenship" is exercised, employers perform their social role and the subsidiarity function of States and the Community is carried out.

In developing its early policies, the Community sought to harmonize systems of training; in recent years, however, the focus has shifted to "local" initiatives and exchanges of experience. Whatever the decision taken, the reference has been to the principle of *subsidiarity*. Whatever the intention - to promote what are regarded as added-value measures whilst at the same time preserving the unity of national systems, or to highlight national characteristics - this principle did not find its true expression in the quest for equality and regulation.

At issue is the very foundation of statehood. When the Community uses its structural funds to promote the development of backward regions facing economic collapse, it meets this twin objective: to close gaps and bring improvements to the most disadvantaged situations.

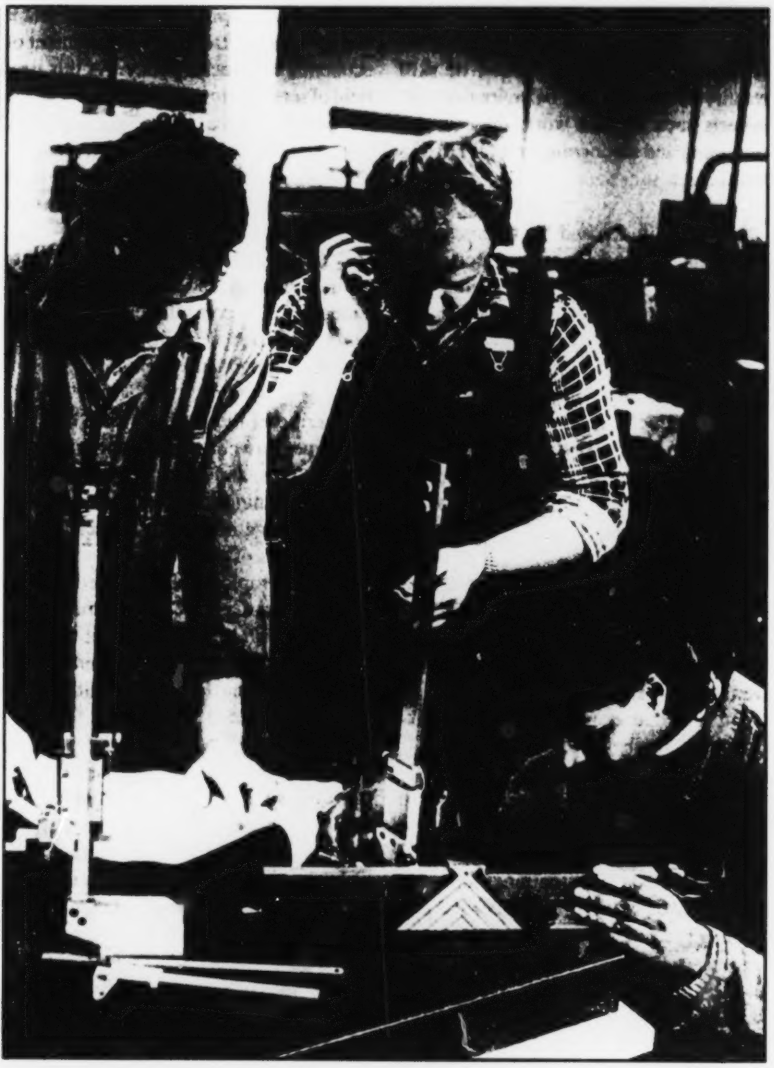
Both the State and the Community are guarantors of *true* democracy. They have a role in providing political and moral support to foster negotiations and ensure their successful completion. This is not "dirigiste interventionism" but the very role of the State, since in every EC country it has from the outset the organizational and/or delegated responsibility for education.

Places, meetings and decisions

Employers

The employer sees training as one item in its capital investment and as part of its global strategy when it is *planning* all its factors of production. One of the employer's strategies is to invest in stability by securing the loyalty of its workforce.

And yet there are isolated examples of employers and workers who have committed themselves to the lengthy process of re-skilling through training, and who have related their action in the workplace to regional and personal development. These trends, as evidenced by practice, presuppose a sense of social responsibility and give the workplace a "social" role.



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- **Within industries:**

Increasingly, collective agreements are incorporating references to training. They are likely to have a growing role in that they are providing more scope for traditional negotiations on training at the same time as espousing innovation and experiment, without a precise reference framework for the conduct of the negotiations necessarily having been prescribed.

- **Within groups of industries:**

The inter-industry outline agreements are changing some of the approaches to training which might otherwise be left to the more dynamic firms and the more highly skilled workers.

Employers' representatives, for example, are faced with demands from the workers' representatives for the right to training for all, whereas the unions are having to consider the vital prerequisites for economic growth.

These outline agreements are shifting the usual negotiating fora, without being too prescriptive; they leave it entirely to the industries themselves to determine the training-related elements. But when the agreements provide for levies on the wage bill, they do set priorities.

- **Within regions:**

At both regional and local level, the social partners are faced with new forms of consultation and negotiation to meet the needs with which the regions are faced.

In creating a synergistic relationship between firms and training agencies and among employers, the unions and the authorities, the partners are having to define strategies for the development of regions that have suffered industrial decline or are lagging behind in their development.

Such regions have every interest in investing in training. Each party involved in shaping development policy and promoting initiatives has to identify the requirements - with due regard for the interdependent local, national and international considerations - and set up new practices for negotiation among the social partners, the authorities and the training providers, setting the development of these regions in the context of their historical heritage without kindling nationalist fervour.

■ **Within the European Community**:

Although more recent, the Community discussions initiated by the social dialogue are paving the way for policy change. But it is still not clear where the path will lead: to a policy debate or to an agreement committing each party to the European approach to training.

And yet this construction of a social forum may well come to nothing due to the existing inequalities, associated perhaps with levels of socio-economic development, national idiosyncrasies or the structure of labour relations.

Should we not be looking for the areas of convergence and identifying common interests? Social progress is achieved through social dialogue and through contractual negotiations at both national and Community level. From now on, the positions and opinions of the ESC, the ETUC and the CEEP may well be reflected in contractual relations.

An open-ended dialogue may be predicated not only on experience - where pragmatism and consensus have proved so vital - but also on opinions and negotiated agreements that commit the parties concerned.

Even though negotiations still have no legally formalized framework at Community level and that framework still has to be devised, a possible way forward is offered by Article 118, which treats contractual negotiations as a possible extension of the social dialogue at Community level.

Perhaps a start could be made with those sectors having a tradition of discussion and negotiation among the Community's social partners.

Some principles of democracy

Given the fundamental problems on the labour market, where there is both a skills shortage and a rise in the number of unskilled unemployed, the democratization of education and training systems is becoming a key principle.

It may be defined in terms of access to training schemes by the greatest number, but also in terms of the application of appropriate teaching methods and the need for validation.

All training programmes funded by public institutions or workers'/employers' contributions must, for example, form part of an overall training scheme to ensure the transfer of knowledge. Consultation must be organized, therefore, to validate the training programmes.

Whether organized inside or outside the workplace, or within individual industries, training should come within the ambit of the social dialogue. Its central reference point should be the social and cultural development of communities and regions, not just the existence of training establishments as such.

It will take a few basic resources to put these principles into practice. To narrow the gap on the market, where skilled workers are in short supply even though jobseekers abound, instruments such as regional monitoring centres are needed to refine the analysis.

In this analysis, the skill requirements and the profiles of both the jobs to be filled and the jobseekers themselves must be identified, so that the social partners and authorities are fully aware of the facts before any decisions are taken.

With growing awareness of the inequalities which, despite progress, still exist in our societies, we should be adopting policies and strategies that promote a convergence of interests. Whether training objectives are defined in terms of profitability or joint action, they must necessarily be long-term and embrace the needs of society and the economy as well as those of the individual.

So this discussion could perhaps close with a new challenge: we need to accumulate a collective intelligence, one that embraces an understanding of the factors of interdependence, expands the fora for arbitration and negotiation and recognizes the need for progress and solidarity.

Role of the social partners in training from the UNICE point of view

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The challenges

Employers' expectations of their employees are changing more and more. Their commitment is needed to achieve corporate objectives, and this means using their abilities, ideas and skills. The individual's contribution therefore, becomes central to the drive for productive, efficiency, quality and service. The education and training which employees will require will need to be broadly based, promoting not just a narrow technical understanding of the job but competence in the broader work context. This broader occupational competence is concerned with adaptability, management of roles, responsibility for standards, creativity and flexibility to changing demand. All employees, whether they have just joined the firm or have been employed for a long time, will increasingly be in a position of having continually to learn new skills and adapt their old knowledge.

Andrew Moore

UNICE (Employers Confederation of Europe), Brussels Head of the British Business Bureau in Brussels

People have become the key to competitiveness, and it is therefore of great importance that companies organise their employment policies to utilise individuals effectively.

An employer's training investment stands or falls by how effectively it meets skills needs. Currently the demographic effect of the falling number of young people and a tightening labour market are high on most companies agendas. A range of responses are available, including more effective recruitment, more training of existing employees and the use of alternative sources of labour.

The European Dimension

The challenges set out above give a clear indication that the development of the individual at all levels is of paramount importance if the single market is to be successful.

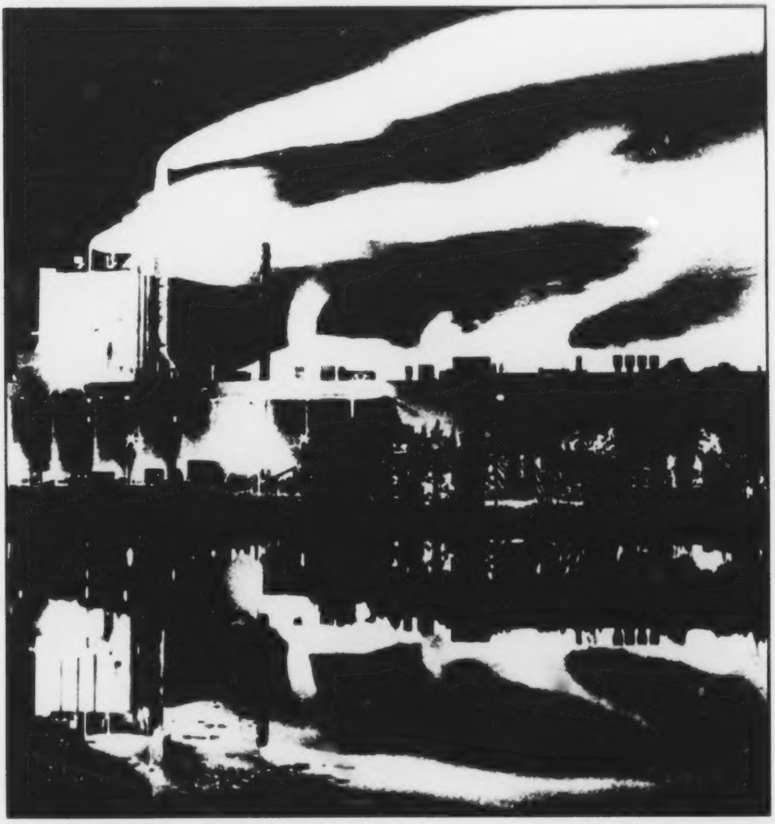
The challenge that lies ahead for us all is how though the European Community we can increase both the quality and the quantity of vocational training across the community. The richness of the experience of the twelve Member States is something which must be seen as an asset and not something which will erect barriers in the field of vocational training.

The Social Partners

A considerable amount of work has already been undertaken at a European level in discussions between the social partners in the context of the 'Social Dialogue'. This dialogue has given and indeed will continue to give us a unique opportunity to discuss at European level a wide range of subjects, and the opportunity to explore ways in which work can be undertaken by the Commission and other European institutions in order to enhance the work being done at national, regional and local levels throughout the Community.

Within the Social Dialogue, the Working Party on Education and Training concentrated on a number of matters to which the social partners attached considerable importance. Firstly, in June 1990 they produced a Joint Opinion on education and training which enlarged on the Joint Opinion delivered in March 1987. This latest opinion set out in some detail the vital role played by education and training in the strategy for the completion of the internal market, including its social dimension, as well as the process of European integration. This opinion formed the basis for a second Joint Opinion which looked in detail at the whole area of initial training and what employers and trade unions look for; in concrete terms the roles played by all those involved in the preparation and motivation of young people for working life.

These two Joint Opinions lead to discussions being undertaken on a third Joint Opinion in the area of access to continuing



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training. A considerable amount of agreement was reached on this subject and the document highlighted a lot of good practise that is taking place within the Community.

A further Joint Opinion is under consideration and is expected to be completed during the early part of 1992 on the subject of 'qualifications and certification'. This subject which is extremely complex is an ideal opportunity for the social partners to work together in exploring ways of bringing about greater coordination at all levels. The issue of relevant and indeed responsive qualifications in the accelerating pace of change are of significant importance, and it is felt that by establishing a framework in which qualifications can be developed which responds to the needs of each Member State we will be able to develop a system which will enable the Community to respond.

In order to advance the discussion on giving opportunities for training, it has been agreed that the next issue to be discussed within the social dialogue is that of 'Women and Training'. A two day seminar in Madrid will look in detail at this subject and will act as a starting point for discussions which will hopefully lead to a joint opinion.

Employers have welcomed the assistance given to them in the development of joint opinions and indeed have in a number of cases welcomed the many initiatives which have come from the Commission over the last few years. Indeed the development of the FORCE programme is seen by many as a major step in the right direction in helping to make European initiatives responsive to the need of employers across the Community. The development of the PETRA programme for young people is also a welcomed move and one which will contribute significantly to the work being undertaken for young people.

Still a considerable amount of work has to be done in order to make sure that the work being undertaken at a European level is fully understood at national level and indeed vice-versa in order that one will complement the other. This two-way communication has developed significantly over the last few years though the work of the social dialogue but also as importantly through the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training (ACVT). This committee has and will continue to take a considerable amount of interest in strategic issues and will advise the Commission on its proposals and the benefits or otherwise that such proposals may have within the Member States.

Respecting the principal of subsidiarity, which was one of the key issues discussed and agreed upon at Maastricht, is of vital importance in the area of Vocational Training. In the discussions which have taken place in the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training over many years, and more recently within the Social Dialogue, it has become increasingly obvious that the divergency of ways in which training in Members States is perceived, and delivered, both at a national or even regional level is not so much a disadvantage, but is seen by many as an advantage. The reason for this is that the best people to decide on what training should be undertaken, are those closest to the place of work. It is in this context that employers welcome the principal of subsidiarity as a way of enhancing vocational training throughout the community.

One of the major benefits of allowing training decisions to be made as close to the work place as possible, is the realisation by both employees and employers that they have common interests, and indeed can both benefit from relevant training which is responsive to the needs of the individual. It is important that as we move to ever increasing demands being made at all levels for the delivery of vocational training, that we fully understand the responsibilities of each of the groups involved. Employers welcomed the opportunity to discuss this important issue in detail in the preparation of the Joint Opinion on access to continuing training. The annex to this Joint Opinion set out very clearly, that for the improvement of skills required by employers, the costs should be covered by the employer. However, if the aim is to acquire additional, more advanced occupational qualifications, as requested by the employee, the cost should be borne by the individual with help from public funding.

Europe after Maastricht -

The Increasing Importance of Social Tripartisanism for the Vitality of the European Union

1. Europe after Maastricht

The set of agreements reached by the European Council in Maastricht in December 1991 is an important milestone on the long path towards European unification. The decisions on economic and monetary union and on political union which were signed by the governments of the 12 Member States in February 1992 marked the beginning of a further important phase in the 35-year history of the European Community. The Maastricht agreements, 189 pages in length, provide for the most comprehensive reform of the EC ever undertaken. The additional 79-page Protocol and the 34 appended statements, however, also show that this reform is still incomplete. Further statements are likely to be appended during the ratification process in the 12 Member States. Explicit provision was made in the evolution clause for revision by 1996, i.e. at the latest four years after the agreements come into effect as intended on 1.1.1993.

The decision of the European Parliament, anticipated for spring 1992, evaluating the overall outcome of Maastricht will be of major significance to the ratification debates in the 12 Member States because Belgium and Italy have made their approval conditional on a positive vote by the European Parliament. A list drawn up during the course of internal preparations for the discussion in Strasbourg shows 13 for and 13 against the Maastricht agreements. The positively viewed elements include the decisions on a European currency, the introduction of a common foreign and security policy, the establishment of a new Regional Committee and the complementary cohesion fund. The main negatively viewed elements are the complicated and to some extent conflicting decisions on the involvement of the European Parliament in the decision-making process in the Political Union and the "two-speed Europe" to be expected in connection with economic and monetary union.

Ernst Piehl (1)

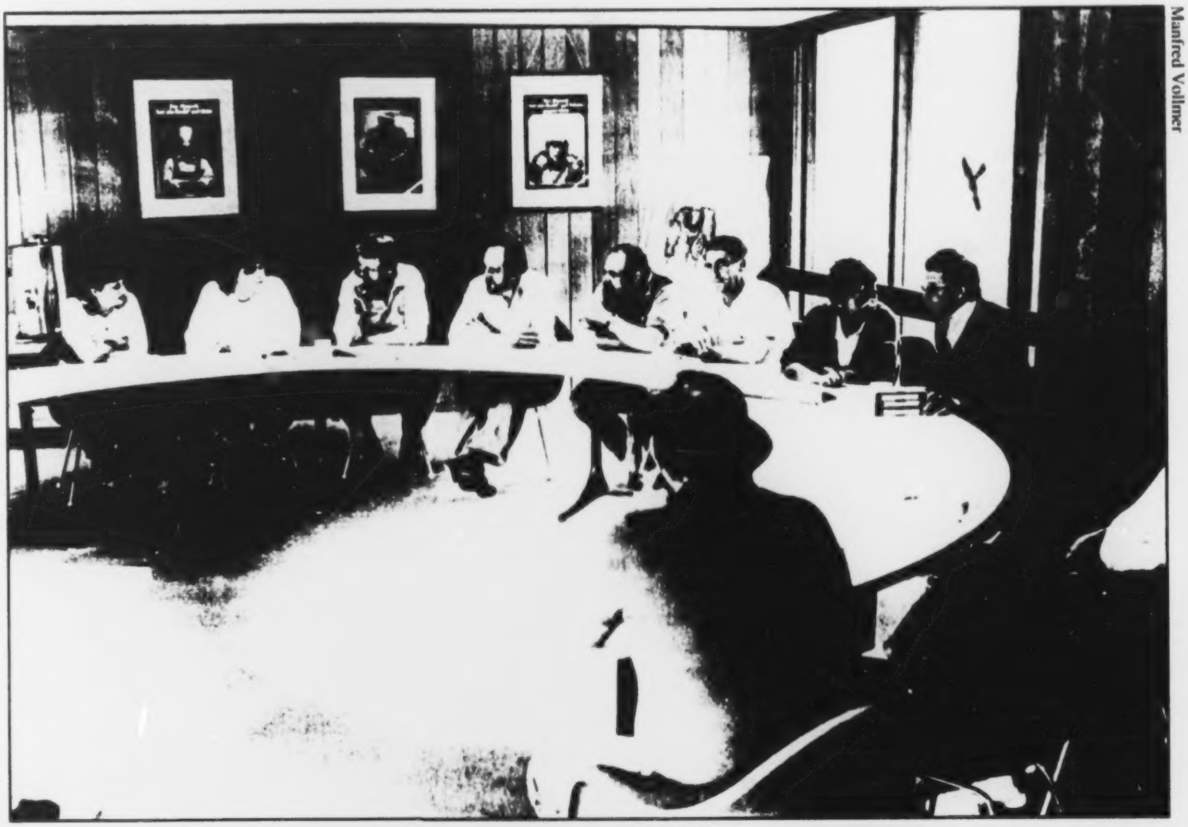
Director of CEDEFOP, Berlin

In general terms one can speak here of a new or additional "obscurity" in the labyrinth of EC 1992, though there is indeed a strong feeling within it of wanting to find innovative solutions to complicated problems. For example, eleven different procedures are envisaged for involving the European Parliament in the decision-making process of the "post-Maastricht EC". This complex background calls first for greater transparency, and the Directorates for press and public relations of the Community institutions are already making more determined efforts in this respect and will undoubtedly further intensify them. Here, though, it is important to understand that this institutional and procedural complexity is not a matter of coincidence: it can be explained by the vested interests of the governments concerned and their contemporary representatives, in other words, leading politicians in the western European welfare states, recognizing the benefits of joint decisions, are being induced to carry out public functions and apply traditionally national instruments jointly with those of the EC. This combination strategy clearly also signifies that the most important heads of state and government presently do not want a clear development towards a European federal state, and that the majority of the nation states are limiting the transfer of sovereignty and are largely maintaining control over the implementation of decisions.

Given this background of partially still persisting "intergovernmentality", a factor of fundamental importance for post-Maastricht Europe will be trust among governments and among the political parties and socioeconomic actors on whose legitimation the governments of the Member States depend. The social partners and their dialogue at European level are referred to in several passages in the Maastricht agreements, and their role is already being upgraded, not least through the strengthening of the role of the Economic and Social Committee.

2. The growing importance of the social partners at European level

The President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, estimates that from 1992 on some 80% of the most important economic policy decisions will be taken at European level. This Europeanization of most policy fields will give the EC institutions ever greater importance as the target addresses for large associations wanting to exert influence on policymaking and become involved in the process of building up political will. More and more decisions taken at EC level are affecting the interests and rights of both employers and employees. If the national associations of employers and the trade unions want to be more than just two lobbies among many others and want to be involved in shaping an active social policy, they will not only have to cooperate on a transnational basis (keywords: social partnership, social dia-



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logue at European level) but will also have to help create a system of joint partnership with the EC institutions, or more specifically with the Commission as the embryo of a future European government (keyword: social tripartisanism at European level).

In the social dialogue at EC level which Jacques Delors has been promoting since 1985, the employees' interests are represented by the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), whose membership includes the majority of all unionized employees in Europe; the interests of employers are represented by the Union of the Industries of the European Community (UNICE) and the European Centre for Public Enterprise (CEEP), the two main apex organizations in their respective fields. Although the results to date of this real trialogue at European level, produced in the form of Joint Opinions, could only be reached after time-consuming preparatory work in working groups and sometimes tough negotiations at the top level, they are nonetheless basically the forerunners for labour and social relations in the future European Union. This "practice ground" was anchored in the European agreements in 1987 through Article 118 A and B of the Single European Act and further expanded in the Maastricht decisions.

The political preparation for these legal steps was mainly embodied in two collective agreements which have attracted very little public attention but will ultimately have their place in European social history:

- the skeleton agreement between ETUC and CEEP of 1990, covering the public sector (including joint activities for initial and continuing training in public enterprises);

- the agreement concluded on 31.10.1992 between ETUC, CEEP and UNICE setting out the framework for future collective bargaining arrangements in Europe.

After the endorsement in principle embodied in the Maastricht decisions (in particular para. 2 of Article 118 A), the agreements reached by the social partners at European level (e.g. in the form of Joint Opinions) are to be declared binding for all Member States by decision of the Council of Ministers. In future, therefore, employers' associations and trade unions will be able to negotiate on social issues which have so far been reserved for the Commission and the Council, i.e. the right of initiative can be transferred from state institutions to the social partners. The Commission must continue to provide information on its initiatives and proposals, and the social partners will be able to take action as early as at the drafting stage, no longer just by lobbying but also by submitting their own draft proposals and thereby participating in the design of future regulations.

In this section use has deliberately been made of "can" rather than "must". This wording suggests the promising possibilities here, but it also alludes to the need for the social partners to create the necessary organizational structures and facilities. In this laborious process the national associations are evidently not (yet) ready to "transfer to Brussels" further areas of their sovereignty (showing a certain parallelism here with with States in their reactions to the same problem), in particular they are reluctant to draw the organizational and material conclusions from their declarations on European policy reiterating the tenor of Jacques Delors' opinion as stated above. Admittedly, progress has been made recently in the social partners' attitudes, in particular at ETUC with the decisions of its last congress held in Luxembourg in May 1991. Also to be seen within this context is the recent ETUC initiative put to the Portuguese Presidency in the EC Council to convene a "summit meeting of the social dialogue" before the summer 1992 recess.

3. Social tripartisanism at the four policymaking levels of the future European Union

One conclusion from the preceding section on social partnership at European level is the need - despite the already observed increase in its standing - for a third force to provide practical support, monitoring and ideas in a variety of ways via the institutions at EC level: the Commission, the Parliament, the Council and the Economic and Social Committee. This can be referred to as social tripartisanism at European level, which should not be confused with the (party) political tripartisanism found in some Member States (e.g. Belgium). This European tripartisanism will of course only be forceful and effective if it is to be found simultaneously at all four policymaking levels, i.e. at the European, national, regional, and local levels, the latter implying companies, administrations, etc. in this socioeconomic context.

In most Member States trilateral and bilateral institutions already exist at national level for a broad range of fields of economic and social policy. One group of EC Member States (e.g. Denmark and the BENELUX states) has a long tradition and wide variety of influential bodies with trilateral or bilateral decision-making structures; another group (e.g. Ireland, Greece and Portugal) only set up such structures after becoming involved in the process of European unification. Contributing agencies here have been the Economic and Social Committee and the Advisory Committees of the EC Commission which work in conjunction with the structural funds and involve the social partners. Portugal's exciting example, the tripartisan Institute for Employment and Vocational Training, shows how effective and beneficial for all involved cooperation between national ministries, employers' associations and trade unions can be, even if it cannot draw on a longstanding tradition of partnership.

At the third level, some EC Member States (Belgium, Federal Republic of Germany and Spain) have strong regions or states within their national borders (Flanders, North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria, Catalonia), which because of their history, population size and economic strength have tremendous possibilities of exerting influence on the first two policymaking levels. In the States which in this respect have a diametrically opposed situation (United Kingdom, Denmark and Greece), there is today some slight evidence of efforts to establish regional policymaking structures. The country in a third position, namely France, has a centralistic tradition but has been engaged in efforts to decentralize or "regionalize" for some ten years now. In all Member States the regions are hoping that the Regional Committee to be set up under the Maastricht agreements will clearly point out the prospects for a three-level structure for the Community, that despite its purely advisory nature it will exert influence on the EC decision-making process, and that it will at the same time serve as a catalyst for strengthening the regional level, particularly in the traditionally centralistic Member States. The last aspect could be supported straight away by complementary efforts on the part of the Economic and Social Committee and the Regional Committee to ensure that in all regions of the EC trilateral committees or institutions are established or, where such already exist, to ensure that these are strengthened. Such efforts would presumably also be reinforced in their impact if the trends towards a regionalization of the structural funds continue (as envisaged in the forthcoming reform of the European Social Fund).

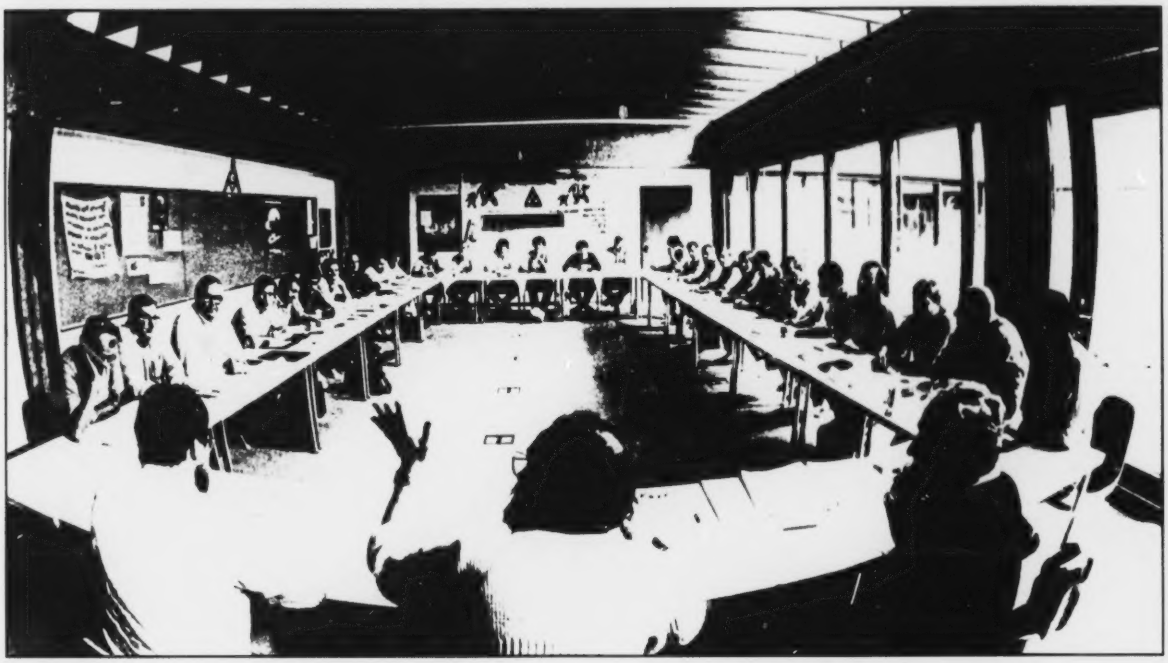
Within the socioeconomic context, the fourth, so-called local level refers to enterprises in industry and agriculture and also administrations in the services sector. In the public sector, including public enterprises, there is a tradition of bilateral or trilateral structures in virtually all Member States, even though the formats differ considerably from one country to another. In the private sector, cooperation between the social partners differs in all countries in line with the following distinctions:

- large enterprises, with sometimes complex systems for worker information, consultation and participation, usually at plant level; this as opposed to small and medium enterprises where such workers' rights are usually less clearly detectable;

- branches of the industrial sector, e.g. the metalworking and chemical industries, in which workers have fought for over 100 years to gradually obtain participation rights, as opposed to the service industries, e.g. banking and insurance, where such participation is (still) much less pronounced, mainly because of the lower level of unionization;

- certain individual industries with specific regulations granting the workforce extensive rights in terms of information, consultation and participation, in particular the legislation on parity-based co-determination in the coal, iron and steel industry in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In the multinational companies operating in Europe the past twenty years have witnessed a broad-based debate and interesting projects on worker information and consultation; for example, multinational companies with headquarters in France such as BSN, Thomson, and Péchiney have for many years had workers' committees acting as partners of the multinational management; another example, based on the proposals put forward for many years by the European Commission for establishing "European workers' councils" is the "agreement on the social dialogue at EC level" adopted within the Volkswagen group (reported by the European news service VWP on 7.2.1992), which regulates rights regarding information and consultation of the elected workforce representatives of VW, Audi AG, SEAT S.A. and Volkswagen Bruxelles S.A., without thereby limiting the statutory rights and duties of the various national workforce representations.



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The likely - and since Maastricht more probable - adoption of the draft directive of the Commission on the European workers' council again highlights the need to strengthen both trilateral cooperation at European level and the cooperation of all those bearing decision-making responsibility at the various levels of policymaking in Europe. There are grounds for hoping that further practical steps towards implementing the European social area will follow, and there are also positive experiences which suggest that the field of vocational training is particularly amenable to such advances.

4. Practical tripartisanism in the field of vocational training: at CEDEFOP

In most Member States it is probably no coincidence that together with employment, vocational training (rather than general education) is *the* field in which various forms of cooperation between state institutions, employers' associations and trade unions are to be found. Such cooperation arrangements exist not only at national but also in some cases at regional level, even in countries which are largely centralistically organized for other policy fields (e.g. France). This situation was recognized at an early stage by the European Community and was acknowledged, at least in the form of a declaration of intent, in the 1963 "General principles on vocational training". At the institutional level, the first step was to establish the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training, which brings together representatives of governments, employers' associations and trade unions. This Committee still meets regularly twice a year to discuss proposals communicated to it by the Commission and to hear reports on decisions of the EC institutions.

At the initiative of the Economic and Social Committee, with the support of the European Parliament, and as a concrete result of the 1974 Community Social Action Programme, in 1975 the Council of Ministers decided to establish the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP). The main reason for establishing this EC Centre - bearing a French acronym and located on German soil - was the strong wish of the majority of trade unions and employers' associations for a permanent institution with a trilateral decision-making structure which would offer more than sporadic contacts with the EC Commission. The Commission indeed has a representation of three permanent delegates on the Centre's Management Board (alongside one representative of each Member State's government, employers and employees), but it also has an outstanding role to play in the adoption of the Centre's work programme. But the two social partners together represent the majority on the Management Board, the main decision-making body, and their influence is strengthened by the additional presence of one UNICE and one ETUC coordinator. This trilateral structure with the additional support of the two apex organizations of the social partners at European level is replicated only in one other case in the family of EC institutions: in the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions based in Dublin. The particular nature of these two institutions with a Community-wide objective also finds expression in the fact that the social partners each have the right to nominate two members of the Directorates in Berlin and Dublin, although decision on a list of nominees is decided on by the entire Management Board and this is communicated to the EC Commission which makes the formal appointment.

Tripartisanism with the additional strong participation of the EC Commission is reflected in CEDEFOP not only in its institutional architecture but also in its ongoing activities, at least in the main elements of its operations. For example, the project with the largest budget in the entire work programme - the "comparability of vocational training qualifications" project, which has been running since 1986 - involves three experts from each Member State who are appointed by the government with the agreement of the social partners of that Member State. This de facto tripartisan format also applies to the technical/scientific meetings organized to discuss the 19 sectors covering 200 occupations, categorising and comparing the important features of the corresponding occupational profiles, certificates and training tracks. In these 19 sectors ranging from motor vehicle mechanics and tourism to the timber/woodworking industry, the following practical benefits have been achieved:

■ the experts representing the sectors/occupational groups are able to communicate in their native languages: for CEDEFOP this nine-into-nine languages format for meetings of experts has meant a major mobilization of resources in terms of both translation of the preparatory documentation and simultaneous interpretation and terminology services during the meetings;

■ in many cases the three experts appointed by each of the three groups in each Member State are meeting for the first time in a constructive working environment and are thereby also contributing to the social dialogue at national level;

■ the involvement of experts from trade unions and employers' associations / companies has created a concrete platform for interpersonal contacts and interpersonal respect which is already reinforcing earlier transnational activities of the social partners, e.g. the establishment and reactivation of vocational training commissions within trade union federations at European level;

■ these networks for communication among experts also make a very practical contribution towards the social dialogue on education and training at industry level, a dialogue to which, according to Jacques Delors, particular importance will be attached in the 1990s.

5. Prospects

Since the mid-1980s an increasing number of EC promotion programmes have tended to focus on general and higher education (ERASMUS and COMETT being the two with the largest budgets). Admittedly there have recently also been programmes which cater for vocational training in the narower sense of the term, i.e. for the majority of non-academic young people and for continuing training (PETRA and FORCE). The participation of the social partners in all these programmes has so far been slight and should be stronger, according to these partners' European apex organizations; to date, the possibility of direct involvement for employers' associations and trade unions at Community level is restricted to only a minority of the programmes: on the FORCE committee they are represented with six delegates each as opposed to 12 representatives of governments. All the more important is the tripartite monitoring of the programmes at national level: in Denmark, for example, a special tripartite institution has been established to coordinate the Danish participation in all relevant programmes.

Since the end of the 1980s the social dialogue between the member associations of UNICE, CEEP and ETUC has developed - slowly but surely - a genuine vitality of its own. In the field of vocational training in particular, concrete results of the work carried out have been submitted in the form of three lengthy Joint Opinions. The preparatory work was conducted by the standing working group on education and training and the sometimes difficult decisions, e.g. on the question of worker access to corporate continuing training measures, were adopted at the highest level by the so-called Ad-hoc group. (Detailed information is obtainable from the TFHR of the EC Commission.)

In the field of vocational training, since 1991 the three apex organizations have been convening at joint seminars with technical support from the Commission and from CEDEFOP: in Berlin in May 1991 for a seminar on "Qualifications and certification" and in Madrid in February 1992 for a seminar on "Equal opportunities". Cooperation between the social partners is thus being documented not only on paper but also in practice in the form of the joint preparation, implementation and evaluation of such meetings. The conclusions of these "joint seminars" are currently being analysed to serve as the basis for two additional Joint Opinions, and they will probably, because of the new post-Maastricht situation, have far-reaching consequences for all levels of policymaking within the European Union.

The adoption of the Social Protocol charts out concrete prospects for agreements at European level and their practical application. As EC social and labour market policies move further away from the unanimity principle and closer to the majority principle, the social partners have a duty to conduct their negotiations more intensively at European level. Clearly they will want to see that their influence can be exerted on European legislative procedures and that they no longer have to make do with a reactive role vis-à-vis the legislators. This will mark a step forward in developing the social dialogue into a European system of social tripartisanism.

It is not yet possible to predict all the practical implications of the Maastricht agreements, particularly the amendment of former article 128 and its incorporation into a proposed amended article 127 providing a new legal basis for vocational training at European level. Nonetheless it is clear that it is less the statements on objectives and areas of activities than the breakthrough to the principle of majority decision-making within the Council of Ministers which will be important. With this innovation and the Europe-friendly rulings of the European Court of Justice, greater scope will be available to the Commission for shaping the Community's future policy in the field of vocational training, especially if it makes full use of the political support of the European Parliament and of the expertise available within the advisory bodies of the Economic and Social Committee and if it can also succeed in skilfully mobilizing the additional potentials for exerting political influence inherent in the living manifestations of tripartisanism at Community level.

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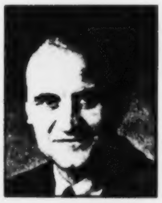
* This article reflects the personal opinions of the author. It is dedicated to the late François Staedelin, former President of the Economic and Social Committee of the EC.

Continuing training for the employed: a Europe of diversity (1)

This article briefly outlines the roles played by the two sides of industry and government in the continuing training systems of five European countries (the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom and Italy). It considers the possibility of a link between the "macro organization" of the continuing training system and the "results" in terms of participation in continuing training. Purely quantitative indicators do not admit any statements on the operation of "macro organization", since qualitative factors, and especially the link between initial and continuing training, must also be considered. On the whole, the national systems of continuing training are "idiosyncratic" and would be difficult to use elsewhere, an aspect which should be borne in mind when a European continuing training policy is formulated.

Hardly any other aspect of labour market policy has been discussed at such length in recent years as the continuing training of the working population. It appears to be one of the "uncontested terrains" on which trade unions and employers and also governments and oppositions in all the European countries are agreed. Continuing training is what is needed at the moment if structural change is to be survived. Rapid technical change, the aging of the working population due to the demographic trend and the large proportion of unskilled people among the unemployed are problems that call for a response from (continuing) training policy (see Schmid 1990).



Peter Auer

The author studied economics and political science in Paris, Vienna and Bremen. His areas of research are labour market policy and employment policy.

Agreement and divergence

The large measure of agreement among all concerned in calling for more continuing training must not be allowed to conceal the major differences of both ends and means. Seen in very general terms, the various camps have the following interests: the employers would like to have as free a hand as possible in the choice of means and in the selection of employees and to see continuing training primarily serving their purposes. The unions would like to have all categories of employees involved as far as possible, but above all to ensure the participation of the unskilled. Continuing training should also include elements that can be used outside the individual firm. They therefore insist on having a say in the selection of employees for continuing training and call for generally applicable rules rather than market forces. Government and the territorial authorities, while mediating in this conflict of interests, also have interests of their own: they are interested in seeing firms invest in continuing training and financing it themselves as far as possible. To minimize the "investment losses" suffered by firms and to prevent firms that do not themselves invest from poaching trained employees from other firms, which might lead to a general withdrawal to continuing training confined to the needs of the individual firm, government has in its armoury a number of incentives and sanctions (subsidies, levies and taxes, rules). On the whole, however, it uses the means it has to promote vocational training with a view to integrating the unemployed or workers threatened with redundancy rather than continuing training for the employed. Although this very rough description of objectives and interests is true of all European countries, their vocational training systems are based on different traditions and arrangements, which we will briefly describe in the following, taking five countries as examples. It must be accepted in this context that the continuing training "system" is no more than a "subsystem" of the overall system of general education and vocational training and is linked to it in many ways.

"Mixed system" influenced by the two sides of industry: the Federal Republic of Germany

Unlike initial training, which is arranged by the two sides of industry and government, the continuing training "system" is the subject of few rules and regulations in the Federal Republic of Germany (old *Länder*). It consists (as in other countries) of various segments, the largest of which is the continuing training provided or arranged for their employees by firms themselves. However, this segment includes a small proportion of "regulated" continuing training courses leading to certificates which are negotiated by the two sides of industry and are governed by continuing training regulations issued by government, such as master craftsmen's certificates in industrial and craft occupations. The Employment Promotion Act also provides for the promotion of continuing training which, though largely geared to the reintegration of the unemployed, also benefits the employed. The range of training available under the government system is, however, determined more by what the individual wants than by the skills that individual employers need. Experts and unions consider the degree of regulation of continuing training to be low, particularly by comparison with initial training (see Streeck 1987). The employers are happy with this low level of regulation since, as a general rule, they want to retain their freedom of action.

Through the institutions of the two sides of industry there are, however, opportunities for the unions to have a say and to be involved at several levels: at national level employers' and employees' representatives are also encouraged to come to agreements (through the Continuing Training Coordination Group, for example) by the fact that only then are regulations issued (Streeck 1987). The two sides of industry play a more limited role at sectoral level than they do in initial training, although there are some collective agreements governing continuing training at this level (Mahnkopf, Maier 1991). At the level of individual firms the Labour-Management Act provides opportunities for involvement, although they are seized only in larger firms. To summarize, it can be said that government plays a subsidiary role in continuing training for the employed and uses the means it has principally to benefit the unemployed and employees threatened with redundancy and to promote the professional advancement of individuals, assistance in the latter case often being provided in the form of a repayable loan. Continuing training is very largely a matter for management, although the unions have a fairly comprehensive right to participate in decision-making at the various levels, and there is a small, though growing, proportion of "regulated" continuing training courses in which all three parties to industrial relations are involved.

Government as "regulator": France

At first glance continuing training in France, unlike the Federal Republic, appears to be a system that is largely controlled both by the two sides of industry and by government. By requiring firms with more than ten employees to spend at least 1.2% (1.4% since 1 January 1992, 1.5% from 1993; now only 0.15% in the case of firms with fewer than ten employees) of their total wage and salary bill on continuing training for their employees, government intervenes extensively in this field under a national collective agreement and appropriate laws and regulations. However, the agreement simply specifies a minimum level of spending by firms on continuing training, leaving them free to choose the providers, participants and courses. This freedom of choice is restricted by the fact that the only on-the-job courses taken into account are those based on a continuing training plan and by the requirement that 0.3% of the statutory minimum sum be spent on promoting the training of young people and 0.15% on "individual educational leave" (CIF). There are also government programmes on a smaller scale (e.g. "engagements de developpements de la formation"), particularly for smaller firms, which are also able to discharge their duty by paying the minimum sum required by law into funds that are used to finance on-the-job training. In France continuing training is one of the areas of industrial relations in which the unions also have opportunities of bringing influence to bear. This is especially true at national (intersectoral) level and, to some extent, at sectoral level. Although the laws passed in the early 1980s ("lois Auroux") have resulted in continuing training playing a larger role in agreements between employers and works councils than was once the case, the latter have fewer opportunities to become involved at the level of individual firms than their counterparts in the Federal Republic. The administration of the funds by the two sides of industry gives rise to another kind of involvement. Given the general weakness of the unions (membership has now fallen to something over 12%), partly due to the multi-union system, government in France intervenes as a "regulator" more than government in, say, the Federal Republic, where "free collective bargaining" plays a larger role. The decentralization of vocational training (the regions have been formally responsible since 1982) has done little to change this role played by central government, which has its own territorial (labour market) administration.

Labour and management in partnership: Denmark

Unlike French firms, which pay the "continuing training levy" only if they are unable to prove that they have financed rather formalized continuing training or paid an equivalent amount into a fund, all Danish employees and employers pay a vocational training levy into a central continuing training fund (AUD). The flat-rate levy currently amounts to DKR 1000 (about £100) a year, with employees contributing 43% and employers 57%. The Danish system differs from the French, however, in that the money is largely used to finance the institutional continuing training network and the participants' expenses. The institutional network is partly administered by government, although the two sides of industry also play their part (e.g. the schools originally founded by the un-

Paul Glaser

ion of semi- and unskilled "special workers"). On the whole, however, government in Denmark plays no more than a subordinate role in continuing training, since the system, from policy formulation to implementation, is mainly the responsibility of the parties to collective agreements. The sectors play a crucial role in this context, since the continuing training curricula for the various occupations are discussed by sectoral commissions. However, they are assessed by a central committee (in which the government labour market administration also brings its influence to bear), and the content of courses and final examinations require its prior approval. While in the Federal Republic the emphasis in the government-run segment of the continuing training system is on the promotion of the individual and in France on the promotion of firms, in Denmark the organization of continuing training in short-term modules, each with its final certificate, the specification of the contents by sectoral commissions and the possibility of combining modules to form long-term upgrading training courses leading to the award of recognized certificates have produced something of a balance between the employer's interest in skills that can be used straight away and the employee's interest in advancement.

Market governs training: the United Kingdom

While there has been a relatively high level of institutional stability in the continuing training systems of the other countries included in our comparison in the past twenty years, the British system has undergone radical changes. The conservative government has, for example, abolished the government labour market authority (MSC) and its successor (Training Agency) and integrated what remained of them into the Department of Employment. At the same time, it has created a network of over 100 Training Enterprise Councils (TECs) in England and Wales and Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) in Scotland, which take the form of private firms (limited liability companies) and have supervisory boards, on which representatives of firms are in the majority.

This has also weakened the institutionalized participation of the unions (which used to be represented on the MSC's supervisory board) and restricted their involvement to the boards of the TECs and LECs, where they are in a minority. The government has also abolished almost all of the sectoral continuing training organizations (Industrial Training Boards), in which the unions influenced continuing training and which collected a training levy from firms to promote the continuing training of employees. The ITBs are to be replaced with voluntary sectoral organizations.

Paul Glaser

The British government sees the decentralization and privatization of the continuing training sector as the way to overcome the notorious weaknesses of the British continuing training system. However, as the TECs and LECs are mainly concerned with the implementation of government training programmes for young people and the unemployed (YTS and ET), few resources are available for the continuing training of employees.

The policy of "deregulating" continuing training in Britain has thus resulted in government withdrawing from continuing training for employees and in the initiative passing largely to the employers and local groups. Consequently, the British system more than ever resembles the American and has dissociated itself from the trend in the rest of Europe, although there too the call for "more market", albeit in comparatively moderate tones, has determined the reforms of recent years.

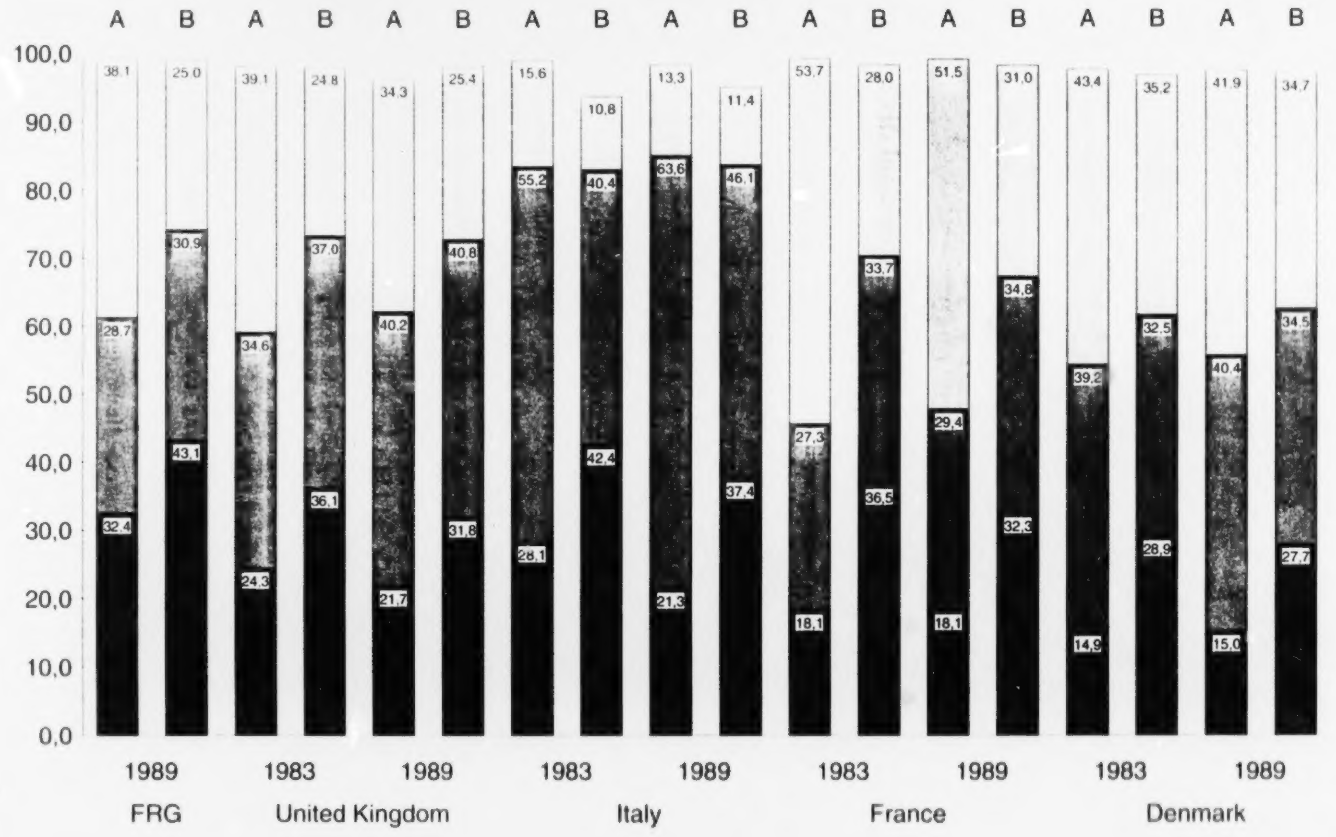
Regional diversity: Italy

Continuing training is more of a regional responsibility in Italy than in other countries. This also gives rise to greater regional variation in continuing training in Italy than in other countries, making it difficult to speak of an "Italian model" of continuing training. Besides the major difference between North and South, there are also considerable differences within the regions of the North and the Centre. A study of the situation in 1986 and 1987 reveals that, while continuing training for the employed is promoted in the regions of Lombardy, Veneto, Valle d'Aosta and Emiglia Romana, for example, there are no continuing training activities of any consequence in Calabria and other regions.

As a result, the influence of the unions also varies: in such regions as Lombardy and Emiglia Romana they play a significant part in regional training committees, while in other regions their influence is less pronounced. In some large firms, most of which have their own initial and continuing training centres, the unions also have the chance of a say in policy on initial and continuing training, how much of a say depending on their strength. Italy differs from the Federal Republic, however, in that the unions have no contractual right to a say in training matters at the level of individual firms.

The financing of continuing training by the European Social Fund plays a not in-

Importance of Training by Economic Sectors 1983 and 1989 (1)



A = share of dependant employed trainees in sectors (14-49)
B = share of dependant employed in sectors (14+)
1) difference to 100% = agriculture

Source: European Labour Force Survey, Eurostat

☐ public services
▨ private services
■ industry

significant role in Italy and often acts as an incentive to organize continuing training courses for the employed (see also Mehaut, Villeval 1990). Central government plays only a marginal role and is responsible for research, evaluation and the implementation of experimental programmes. It also administers two funds, the *fondo di rotazione*, which is financed with a levy on employers (with the ESF funding 50% of the costs), and the (smaller) "mobility fund", from which continuing training activities may also be financed.

In Italy too the regions and government as a whole are, however, more concerned with initial training and the problems connected with the transition from school (or unemployment) to the labour market than with continuing training for the employed, which is primarily the responsibility of the (larger) firms.

Manfred Vollmer

"Country systems" and participation in continuing training

To summarize, the two sides of industry are most heavily involved in Denmark (with government performing a subsidiary function). In the Federal Republic and France there are "mixed systems", with a larger part played by government in France and by the two sides of industry in the Federal Republic, although firms themselves have considerable influence. Britain has a "market model" of continuing training, whereas it is difficult to speak of a "national system" in Italy because of wide regional variation. The question that now arises is whether the "macro organization" of the continuing training system described in very rough terms here influences the participation of employees in continuing training. For many years the European Labour Force Survey carried out by Eurostat has included questions on vocational training, which provide some insight into the scale of participation by employees in continuing training, although these figures are again not the "final peal of wisdom", since they are based on partly differing definitions of further and continuing training and so require a critical review. However, the surveys are based on a random sample of 600,000 households in the Community, which are asked about the participation of individual members of the household in vocational training in the previous four weeks. According to these surveys, the participation of employees aged 14 to 49 (excluding apprentices and others engaged in such initial training as the YTS in the United Kingdom) can be ranked as follows:

DK	17.7%
UK	13.2%
FRG	6.3%
F	3.4%
I	2.3%

If we assume there to be a direct link between the "macro organization" of the continuing training system and participation in such training, it is evident that a system administered by the two sides of industry and, as in Denmark, financed from a fund to which employees and employers contribute also makes for a high level of participation. However, a "market system", like that in Britain, appears to have almost the same effect. On the other hand, the "German mixed system" does not stimulate any particular participation in continuing training, and participation is especially low in France - despite the statutory requirement that 1.2% or 1.4% of the total wage and salary bill be spent on continuing training - and in Italy's regionally organized system.

Quantity and quality

It can be neither confirmed nor denied here that the actual situation is similar to that revealed by the figures: although there is convincing evidence of the high level of participation in continuing training in Denmark and the national labour survey in Britain roughly corresponds to the figures produced by the European Labour Force Survey, figures from national sources in the Federal Republic and especially France differ from the findings of this survey. Thus the 1989 microcensus in the Federal Republic showed that 11.2% of all employees aged from 15 to 64 had participated in continuing training in the two years before the survey, the continuing training reporting system indicated a figure of about 25% in 1985 (Germans aged between 19 and 64), and French sources have some 30% of all French people of employable age taking part in continuing training. However, these figures relate to different periods and different age groups and, in France's case, they also originate from administrative sources rather than surveys. Nor is it possible to assume a direct link (in the sense of A leads to B) between the "macro organization" of continuing training (the respective roles of the employers, unions and government or territorial authorities), since the factors influencing participation in continuing training vary. For example, the relationship between initial and continuing training plays a major role. It is quite plausible to assume that the need for continuing training to compensate for poor initial training (Finegold/Soskice 1988) is greater in Britain than, say, the Federal Republic. In other words, what is learnt during an apprenticeship in the Federal Republic has, to some extent, to be learnt in continuing training in Britain. This is also confirmed by the higher rate of participation among the semi- and unskilled in Britain. Where initial training takes place in schools, as in France and Italy, it can be assumed that it is followed by a lengthy period of familiarization in firms, which may be included as continuing training in the Labour Force Survey.

Table:
Employees in continuing training[1]

	1983		1989		Change 1983/1989 in %	
Country	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
Denmark	**11,9**	**12,0**	17,7	19,1	**37,5**	**39,6**
UK	9,4	8,4	13,2	13,0	30,7	51,1
FRG	**-**	**-**	**6,3**	**5,7**	**-**	**-**
France	3,2	3,4	3,4	3,6	6,2	5,9
Italy	**2,6**	**2,9**	2,3	3,0	**-11,5**	**3,4**

[1] Participants in training measures, aged 14 to 49, excluding the self-employed, apprentices, etc.

Source: Eurostat, European Labour Force Survey (author's calculations)

Uncertain results

The above explanation may leave some readers dissatisfied: who provides most training, and who is best at it? Which "system" produces the best results, and what can a "European continuing training system" take as a guide, if there should ever be approximation in this field? The Danish system, which appears to have struck a balance, unique in Europe, between the needs of firms and the need felt by individuals for advancement, or the German system, which does not perhaps need all that much continuing training because it provides efficient initial training? Or the British system, in which the employers are in control, the French system, where the law and collective agreements prescribe a minimum amount to be spent on continuing training, or the system used in an Italian region like Emiglia Romana?

We do not believe that a scientifically sound answer can be given to these questions at present: the data needed both for a quantitative and a qualitative assessment are incomplete and allow no more than provisional statements. But above all we know little about the evaluation of the "output" of the continuing training system and its contribution to economic growth. The activities of Eurostat, Force and CEDEFOP will help to clarify the data on these aspects.

It is also evident that such large aggregates as "country systems of continuing training" are idiosyncratic, i.e. they depend on a number of factors which are so country-specific that they can hardly be generalized (see Maurice/Sellier/Sylvestre 1986).

If, then, any recommendations can be derived from our study, then only with all the necessary caution and with account taken of such idiosyncracies: organizing continuing training in short-term modules leading to the award of territorially valid certificates, with the possibility of combination leading to long-term recognized certificates, as is the case in Denmark, is one of the possible responses to the greater need for flexibility in production and the service sector. Joint administration of this system by the two sides of industry, with government also involved, leads to a balance of interests, and joint financing (with levies) alleviates such problems as the "loss of investment" due to the poaching of workers who have undergone continuing training. This does not mean that the "German model" of initial training followed by the "Danish model" of continuing training is recommended as the miracle cure, merely that the latter model contains a number of elements that politicians responsible for training and labour market researchers should examine more closely.

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Note

(1) This article is based on a research project assisted by Directorate-General V of the Commission of the European Communities and carried out by the Department for Labour Market Policy and Employment of the Scientific Centre, Berlin (WZB); see Peter Auer, Further Education and Training for the Employed, EEC and WZB, spring 1992.

Forward management of employment and vocational training

There is now little doubt that the forward management of employment and human resources provides a solid base for training policies. This article examines the extent to which this assertion is valid and goes on to show those circumstances in which it is not just acceptable but actually of use.

Enterprise often has problems defining its targets. Training is not always the best way of achieving these targets. The support which training provides for employment may be based on very different approaches. The chronological link between forecasting and training, while intellectually satisfying, does not necessarily match the manager's timescale.

These problems, far from casting doubt on the association of the social partners for the formulation of vocational training policy in enterprise, offer them scope for discussion.

The idea that the forecasting or anticipation of jobs, trades and organizations are necessary steps towards an efficient training policy is nowadays part and parcel of our shared cultural baggage. Whether this is viewed from the point of view of enterprises, sectors, regions, countries or even Europe as a whole, there are sound reasons for this investment in techniques, resources and procedures which help to shed light on the future and should make it possible to find out what kind of training to provide and possibly who and how many need to be trained and how to train them.

Louis Mallet

Doctor of Economic Science, technical consultant to the Ministry of Education, former employment and training director in a major industrial group.

Research Officer at CNRS, lecturer at the University of Toulouse I and consultant.

Like any seductive idea, this idea is based on excellent principles and frightening fallacies. This article considers some of the conditions which determine the efficiency of the simple link between forward planning and training. This list could obviously be drawn up for all the areas in which forecasting has now become mandatory. We shall look here at the area of enterprise and therefore at the link between the forward management of employment and human resources and training policy.

This link is obviously rational: in a changing universe, and bearing in mind the time which training actually takes, future needs must be forecast in advance. Having ascertained these needs, training would seem to provide a way of preparing to meet them. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case. Detailed analysis of practices in enterprise shows that this mechanical model of "equivalence" has the merit of simplicity but is unable, in most cases, to take account of the complex links which connect training to forward management[1].

Progress in human resource management as in other management areas must be based on preliminary intuition and high-quality forecasting. However, the resources which need to be employed and the procedures which need to be set in motion for such forecasting to be efficient are neither simple nor generally applicable. Any other approach would be detrimental to both training and forward management.

Four ideas will be developed below to illustrate this notion:

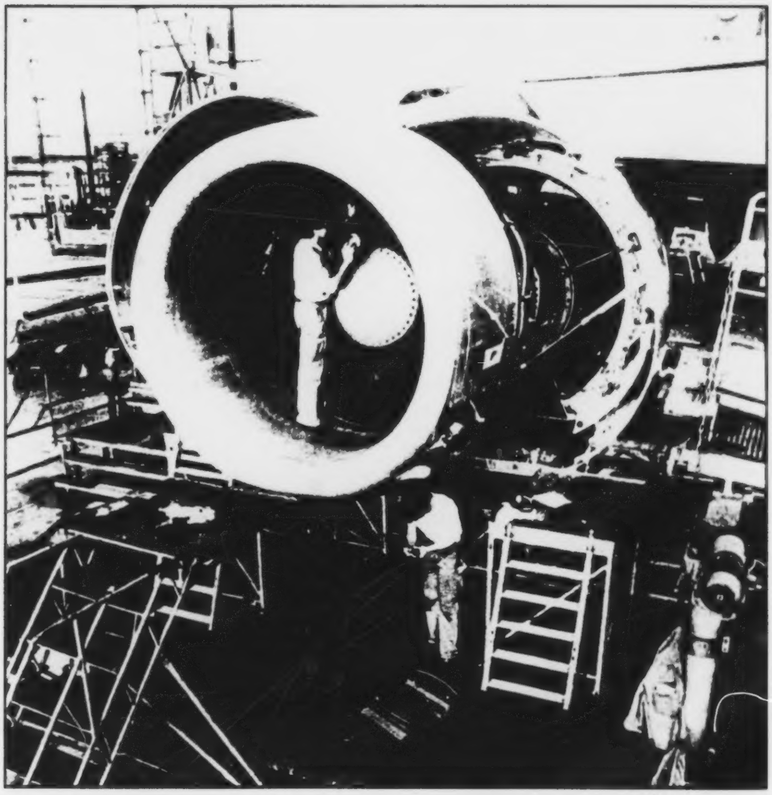
- Various fields of investigation are involved in and different methods need to be used for the forward management of employment and human resources (5). Forward management provides results whose nature and accuracy differ in different cases. While these results in most cases have a role to play in training policy formulation, this role is not immediate or direct and is not always the same role.
- Training does not provide all the answers. The goals which training is called upon to meet must be limited because some measures would be unacceptably expensive and because preparation for the future involves other methods of adjustment as well. This is not an underestimation of the role of training, but rather a condition of its credibility.
- Making training serve employment may be a reasonable objective. The specific areas in which this "functional" role has a place need to be examined. In what ways can these two terms be linked within the general objective: helping people to find jobs, to keep jobs or even to change jobs; helping enterprise to adapt.
- The (chrono)logical timescale in which training is followed by recruitment and then productive work is often an intellectual construction. For a variety of reasons, actual timescales are not the same. This destroys the forecasting-action model.

These four approaches towards an in-depth examination of the link between forward planning and training also make it necessary to look at the role of the various partners. What consequences can be drawn from this? Is it possible to pinpoint concrete positions from these "realistic" analysis factors?

- Forward management of employment and human resources can be defined as all those methods and procedures integrating analysis of the future into decision-making about employment and human resources. At this general level, there are two essentials: analysis of the future and links with the decision-making process.

Analysis of the future takes various forms depending on types of enterprise and the environments in which they are located. A small, recently launched, enterprise, which has found an opening in and has a small share of a market which is difficult to predict in the medium term does not carry out the same investigations as a large and venerable semi-public company operating more or less as a monopoly. The former has to identify its key resources, personnel and skills and analyse its environment as far as it can. It then has to forearm itself against major risks (by a replacement plan, for instance) and work out the stages of its development from its central core of competence. The results of its forward management are limited to these areas of strategic human investment. They will be qualitative and not always specific, bearing in mind that flexible work organization allows for overlaps, shifts and modifications depending on needs.

The second firm must start by preparing a review of its resources and jobs. A collective approach based on the main categories of personnel is indispensable both as way of reading the current situation and for projection into the future (demographics, statutory career routes, etc.). The inflexible patterns of work organization inherited and the technical and economic need to diversify functions will mean that the distribution of tasks and responsibilities has little stability. From the point of view of its environment, the fact that the market is easy to read, the firm's dominant position and the power of its main shareholder are factors entailing internal constraints. The results of forward management will in the first instance be quantitative, identifying discrepancies between needs and resources and labour shortages or surpluses. Jobs, seen as groups of connected jobs, will be a basic element in any analysis. Internal mobility will probably be a means of adjustment which needs to be studied. Career development will depend both on changes in job structures and job experience times, i.e. it will be subject to major constraints.



Ital

These different types of investigation will undoubtedly provide trainers with information which they can use, although the nature of this information will differ. Certain information will have a direct impact on training strategy, for instance when a need is clearly pinpointed in an environment which is unlikely to change and an answer can be provided. Other information will relate to probable or alternative needs: decisions about numbers to be trained, the content of training and the time at which decisions have to be made will need further investigation. In other cases, the need itself will be uncertain and badly defined with respect to the trainer's normal system of references. There can be no immediate translation into training programmes intended to provide the skills required, for instance, in flexible organizations. There must be a sequence of stages involving different competences.

The limit case is that in which it is impossible to predict the way in which the contents of jobs and the skills which they require are likely to change. The only solution may be to recruit labour from outside. The labour market has to make this possible. Otherwise, trainers will also be responsible for coping with this uncertainty.

The diversity of methods and results means that "off-the-peg" solutions do not always fit the circumstances. Analysis of the very notion of a "training need" is an essential stage.

Training officers must therefore play their part in interpreting results, in prior thinking about methods and in the organization of forward management. This will probably lead to changes in their jobs.

■ The changes currently affecting enterprise are of different types: product and market changes, technological and organizational changes and changes in individual motivations and management methods (3). Repercussions on job contents and on what is demanded from the people in these jobs are not always easy to perceive and it would be a dangerous illusion to consider that the gap between the present and the future, in so far as it has been possible to identify this gap, can be filled solely by training.

The first reason for this is that we do not know how to carry out certain operations.

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or at least how to carry them out at an acceptable cost: whether this involves training for older workers or workers with very few skills or filling major gaps, enterprises hesitate or shy away from the expenditure involved or the uncertainty of the result. Looking at this another way, the skills required in some forms of organization, which cannot be placed on a formal footing in relation to traditional school or disciplinary reference systems, raise difficult questions for trainers: how can the skills required by certain just-in-time or quality improvement processes be acquired?.

The second reason is that changes in the conditions in which work takes place cannot simply, or always, be met by the skills and expertise offered by apprenticeship, even in its various forms. Attitudes, "well-being" and motivations are often as important. The answer does not then lie in the acquisition of qualifications by personnel but possibly in payment, organizational and communication policies and in particular in the overall consistency of the various actions which make up human resource policy. For instance, developing skills without recognizing them, and therefore paying for them in one way or another, is unacceptable in our culture. In some cases, training has consequently raised more problems than it has solved. Some problems of adaptation are due more to the discrepancies between organizational and payment systems than to a lack of training. To take another example: some enterprises simultaneously develop organizations which are more collective and payment systems which are more individual. It is not possible to go in both directions at once and employees often perceive defects of this type in management systems more rapidly than their managers. Employees are then left with little respect for their superiors and are somewhat disillusioned to see themselves being manipulated by contradictory forces.

Cultural factors, i.e. those relating to the value system of the enterprise, are also essential factors in change (7). Such and such an enterprise handled a new technological investment badly for the paradoxical reason that it wanted its employees to participate in preparing for the new organization, while its management style had been authoritative, non-delegatory and hierarchical for years. Considerable attention was paid, however, to the design of the technical content of training. Employees followed the necessary theoretical and practical training in good time, but the way in which work organization had been designed by the various partners disconcerted everyone from supervisors to operators as it seemed more like an enclosed theoretical construction than a real compromise between customary and established operating methods and the constraints of the new process. The workers involved in this process lacked motivation and consistent relationships with the type of organization selected.

Enterprise is located at every moment at a point along a technological, cultural and social path; not everything is possible immediately. Training may help to speed up developments or to re-situate a route but is effective only in relation to contextual factors. Even when the direction in which it is desired to progress is known, it is not enough to leave this progression solely to training, making it the only vehicle. A strategy involving a range of resources has to be formulated and the choices made in the various fields of human resource management (personnel allocation, organization, payment and communication) must be in keeping with one another.

■ While training may be placed at the service of employment, in the joint interest of the individual and the enterprise, a number of factors are involved in this instrumental use of training. The objectives which the enterprise lays down as a result of its forward management strategy consequently require training to play a variety of roles.

It is impossible to disregard the "minimum role" which many firms are still attributing, often wrongly, to training for the purposes of employment. Whatever people may say at conferences, many senior managers still "do not believe in" training and many consider training at worst as a burden and at best as an investment with an uncertain return. Some firms which are not very forward looking sometimes take this position because their horizons are limited to their own short-term interests. The idea that firms must take responsibility for their employees is gaining ground, however, in many countries and should make this kind of position rarer, giving in-service training a role to play in future mobility outside the firm or in relation to labour market vulnerability.

This leads on to another aspect of training which might be termed adjustment to employment fluctuations: abolishing jobs releases employees who have to find new work inside or outside the enterprise. Training can be used to help these people to find new jobs. It is evident that forward management is crucial in this case since it makes it possible to determine employment targets in good time. Forward management, necessary within enterprise, is obviously also useful in labour catchment areas in order to cope with outside redeployment.

A third aspect is of a technological nature. Adaptation to technical progress is one of the most traditional functions of continuing vocational training. This type of learning, often connected with the acquisition of new equipment, may be highly integrated into production activity. While manufacturers often use this type of training, in-house training divisions are in some cases not even aware of its existence.

Another frequent concept is training whose aim is to integrate. In this case the aim is to help employees to identify with the enterprise's objectives and values. This includes management training, some types of training in working methods and recompense training. While the link with employment may be indirect, it is undoubtedly real: the immediate effect of this training is not to make people more adept or to facilitate technical adaptation but rather to rationalize the systems which shape worker relations through its impact on coordination, supervision, crisis management and motivation.

Other types could also be pinpointed. To provide a fuller picture it would be necessary to cross these various aims with training methods (formal training, on-the-job training and so on) and introduce the firm's timescale (short- or long-term) for each type. The main point here is to show that forward management, if it is to lay the foundations for training programmes, must provide different findings depending on the training approach being used.

There are consequently two symmetrical movements: the development of forward management methods is diversifying the types of results which trainers can use (see point 1), while trainers need different representations of the future depending on their approach to training.

■ The final observation is the most disturbing. If the "conventional" link between forward management and training is to work, there has to be a chronological approach where a number of operations take place successively in time: forward management, policy formulation and implementation, in particular through training. To be more precise, in an investment operation, for instance, the rational sequence would be to work out new organizational patterns then to train employees as a consequence of this, before new equipment comes into operation. Experience shows that this rarely happens. It is difficult to predict work organization patterns out of context, the various facets of the operation inevitably get out of step and lead to unforeseen changes to schedules and the launch stage is always an intense learning stage whatever the level of preparation.

These developments are not just approximations of a linear model which should remain the manager's point of reference and guiding principle. They are essential factors in the success of operations. The manager's timescale is not that of the rational observer. Pressures generated by real or induced urgency, participation in (or mediation of) individual power games and the fact that nobody ever has all the information make it necessary to re-arrange sequences in unforeseen orders and frequently to correct routes. New information about the future appears as time passes and has to be integrated into training schemes which have already been designed and set in motion. The simple necessity of carrying out training without shutting down plant often makes it necessary to schedule training at times which are too early or too late. Moreover, organizations only really become systems of concrete action (in the sense of Crozier (1)) in actual production situations, i.e. too late, by definition, to allow for any preparation.

This interweaving of stages does not take place in chaos, but in sequences decided by managers who have to cope with the instability of their environment. While, in these circumstances, a coherent advance model may be a point of reference and may help to provide consistency, it should never be a constraint. Much forward management work has been criticized or forgotten for this reason: the management system must above all be adaptable. Forward management should help to calculate bearings, but unforeseen winds and weather conditions may make it necessary to tack about or head in a variety of temporary directions. The position reached needs to be examined frequently, both to find out where this position is and to recalculate bearings.

Going beyond the simplistic link between forecasting and training complicates matters considerably, but also provides considerable scope for the social partners. If forecasting resources were calibrated and irrefutable and had mechanical answers in terms of labour force adaptation policies, what would the role of the social partners actually be?

The fact that forecasting methods have to be built up as a function of enterprises and their environments, that objectives can be achieved in various ways, that internal approaches to training differ and that timescales have to be continually rectified, opens up vast areas for information, discussion and negotiation.

The problems discussed above show that it is very important for questions which do not have simple answers to be thought out in a collective way. Larger numbers of partners have to work together to find information which is able to shed light on probable future scenarios. If motivation is seen as a key factor in achieving objectives, it is then necessary to think about the ways in which employees are integrated into enterprise plans. It is not enough to opt for an advance ideological approach in which provision is made for "worker participation". The forms, times and methods of this participation have to be analysed and have to be compatible with a firms's economic goals and its culture.

Because its objectives and approaches are so diverse, vocational training provides a meeting place for partners representing different interests. Policy formulation makes it possible for people to put forward different points of view and initiate discussion which rapidly goes beyond the sole issue of training. Moving from training to employment and broadening the scope of social debate to include forward management in particular, seems inevitable as long as there is a link between the two terms. This development opens up a vast field of "engineering of social relations" which has not been explored to any great extent in EEC Member States. Progress will need care and experimentation, some partners will change the way in which they perceive matters and everyone will learn. In all probability this will lead to a new division of power in enterprise.

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Note

(1) Presenting an alternative model in as simple a way is not as intellectually satisfying. This probably explains the powerful and on-going attraction which the initial model exerts on those involved in this field. Nor does this seem likely to change: matters become much more complicated if the simplistic model of equivalence is abandoned (2).

"Local system-building and policy at national and European level"

Introduction

From a primary, some might say theoretical, point of view, vocational training has acquired a fresh position in the process of economic development in recent years. Whilst its purpose used to be assumed to be supporting the redeployment of the workforce from one specialized routine task to another through a brief period of instruction, its new task is to ensure that the workforce has such a high level of skills that it can adapt flexibly to fresh challenges in a regular process of continuing training, in some cases while the work is being carried out. Looking at the situation through the eyes of the State, there is therefore a need for massive change in the system of continuing training.

However, perhaps this re-organization of the system of continuing training system is not so great when looked at from a practical point of view. In many countries the system of continuing training has been administered by and translated to a local or regional level. Although the limits have been defined by national government regulations, it has generally been possible to modify the systems in such a way that the local representatives of authorities, schools, employers and employees have been able to adapt the national system to a local need for support for a specific development in the labour market. High-growth dynamics has been due to local systems of continuing training of this kind in a number of regions in western Europe.

Peer Hull Kristensen
Associate Professor and Chairman of Council at the Institute of Organization and Industrial Sociology, Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

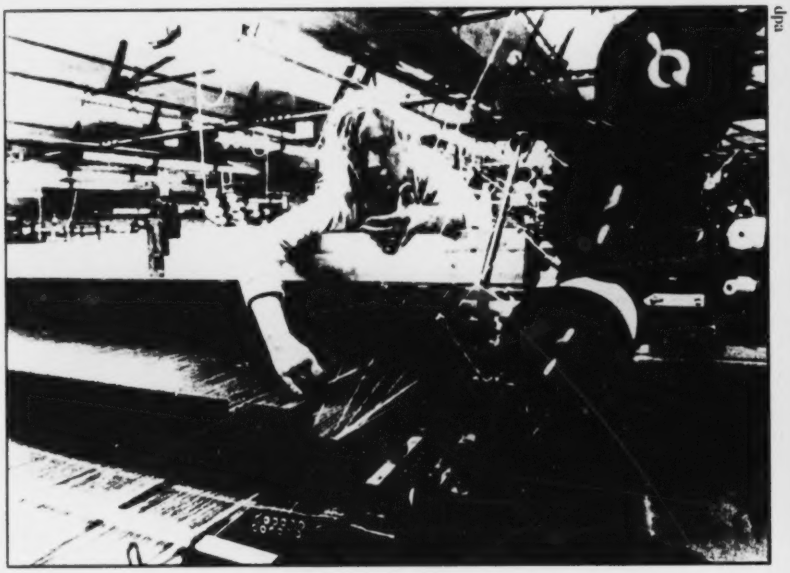
Two examples of local applications of the national system of continuing training in Denmark illustrate how these local systems have been built up to fit in with a regional pattern of development which has helped both the population and firms to meet changing economic and social challenges. Although the new challenges and requirements for increased flexibility necessitate a re-organization of local systems of this kind, it is far less dramatic in nature than might be expected from a primary or theoretical point of view. This does not mean that all the problems disappear if the systems are simply analyzed at a local rather than national level. An imaginary example illustrates how vocational training may have been administered locally in such a way as to reduce rather than support the ability of the local community to re-adjust in line with international challenges.

In conclusion it is argued that general national or European reforms aimed at solving the theoretically formulated needs for re-adjustment may have massive, unintended or counterproductive effects in the individual regions, depending on how they affect practice which has already been established but is not seen by eyes that have been blinded by theoretical preconceptions. There is quite simply no alternative to having a greater knowledge of how the local "translations" of the national systems work, so that a policy can be conducted which weakens their inappropriate and strengthens their strong aspects.

From the past to the present: the primary, or theoretical, problem of re-adjustment in vocational training

In the post-war period Ford and Keynes jointly shaped our ideas about industry and the State and the interplay between economics and politics. Within this framework of ideas, the system of continuing training played a limited, but very clear-cut role. Its main function was to train the workforce quickly and effectively for the defined routine tasks of which the very highly specialized labour organization was made up and the complexity of which it limited. Another function was to feed the new line and staff functions with specialized technicians who could take part in the bureaucratic coordination and organization of the split and taylorized work. In Denmark, political reforms imagined that it was precisely these training tasks that were solved at the beginning of the 1960s by establishing training courses for semi-skilled workers and many of the new training courses for technicians.

The system of continuing training with such well-defined functions was also able to solve the specific problems of re-adjustment which nations faced. In Denmark the workforce migrating from agriculture, for example, had to be quickly trained so that it could perform the routine tasks of modern industries. Another task was constantly to convert labour from one routine task to another, e.g. by giving training in the operation of new machines as economies of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scale increased mechanization or automation changed the requirements which had to be met by workers. The system of continuing training was the institution which was to increase the mobility of the workforce so that the demand for and supply of labour were broadly equal within the various labour sub-markets.

Labour market policy was clearest in Sweden. In Sweden sharply rising wages were seen as the pressure which had to be constantly exerted on the employers, who were therefore forced to mechanize and automate within the individual firm or industry. Firms and industries which could not keep up with this innovation had to close down and give way to firms and industries which had sufficient technological dynamism to pay for the high wages of the welfare state and the service which was to support its workers. On the other hand, the State undertook responsibility for the workforce being capable of being moved - from one function to another in the firm, or from one firm to another, or from one industry to another. It was a requirement for mobility which meant that the workers moved, between regions, between firms, between industries and between jobs within the individual firm. In the same way that the Swedish State gave support to moving the worker physically, the State was to make instruction available so that the worker could be trained in the simple new routines which a new job required.

During the course of the 1970s and 1980s faith in Keynes and then Ford declined, and fresh questions are now being asked about the function which is to be fulfilled by the system of continuing training. Uncertain markets are forcing the firms to be flexible instead of simply producing more and more of the same. This flexibility is directly linked to the workforce, which must be capable both of producing efficiently and of re-adjusting quickly to new products. New computer-based production technology has been introduced at the same time. This requires the workers to be capable of combining their practical understanding with a more theoretical understanding of production and converting this into programming. In short, the individual workplace now works best by integrating the many functions in the work which the taylorization of mass production had sought to differentiate minutely. Lively discussion has been taking place in recent years on these new skilled or multi-skilled jobs, which are difficult to define, because it is apparently a requirement of the new jobs that they integrate skills which previously were spread both horizontally and vertically in the work organization. These multi-skilled workers must also be able to communicate directly with one another, so that the work organization between them is adapted directly and by self-organization when the frequent re-adjustments take place in production.

From a theoretical point of view, the new requirements for skills raise insurmountable problems for national training policy. Basic training obviously has to be improved so that ability to learn something new is increased. Better skills in reading and arithmetic, knowledge of mathematics and physics etc. can be easily attained by building more general education into the vocational training courses. But how is the ability regularly to take on a new job function which consists of an integrated set of operations acquired? Can it be taught at school? Or does it have to be done by continuous training by being allowed to find a method of personally finding a place in a constantly changing work context by "trial and error"? Do those who instruct trainees and apprentices have this ability? And who is to teach those who teach trainees and give continuing training to apprentices? Are there any people who have this ability themselves? Do those who ask the questions know the answers themselves? Must the State not turn to the firms to ask them to take on this regular task of continuing training, which only practice can create and the effect of which is concealed in the silent knowledge characteristic of experienced multi-artists? State reforms are without doubt needed, but what must they entail?

Learning from practice: adjustment of local, regional and national systems of continuous training

With these questions on one's lips, it comes as no surprise that Germany's "dual system", technical schools in the industrial districts of Regio-Emilia or in the cooperative and school complexes of Catalonia have attracted international interest. How has vocational training worked in the geographical areas which have displayed the greatest economic vitality? Why is the workforce better able to support the flexibility of firms in the "third Italy" than in the large centralized firms of the USA?

National and local differences are now being discovered which reveal that the modernization of the post-war period has had less of an impact at the practical level than we expected. Do we not find in Germany the "Handwerker", albeit in a modernized form, busily occupied with the new computer-based machines in the most advanced factories? We can see at once that there has been very great continuity in these societies, so that the craftsman has continued to train the apprentice in a broad field of knowledge which makes it possible to integrate planning with execution, and indeed within a broad range of areas of work. The re-training of the German metal worker is not a massive task, because he is already bound to a tradition of continuing training, which has made regular advancement in the company hierarchy possible.

Guided by foreign examples, researchers are perceiving new features in national systems of continuing training. In Denmark it is discovered that the strong tradition of training skilled workers has not weakened. Although the "smith" has become a complicated set of highly skilled specialities, it is still formed by a mixture of apprentice training and school education, which has been the case since the end of the 1870s. The unskilled, we discover, can not only use courses for brief training in new routines, but also combine courses in a coherent chain which can lead to a level of skills as high as those of skilled workers. Finally the skilled workers have been able to make many "technician functions" into continuing training modules on their own basic training. Suddenly we can re-interpret the post-war period as an era in which skilled workers faced a challenge, because the trade unions representing the unskilled started to compete with the skilled for jobs by training their members, who can now call themselves "semi-skilled workers" and in which skilled workers were forced to compete themselves with increasing continuing training. In this new picture, the dynamics in Denmark since the start of the 1960s is transformed into a labour market where technical white-collar workers, skilled workers and semi-skilled workers have competed vigorously with each other for the right to hold the new jobs. And all three groups have used the same means: basic and continuing training have been the decisive factor in one or other group being able to legitimize its right to demand a particular job. In short, the worker required by the new times is already being moulded.

The ambivalence and wastage of resources which many Danish analysts noted when they saw from the point of view of national resources that the technical schools of the skilled workers, the semi-skilled worker schools of the "unskilled" and the examination-based training of the technicians often duplicated and competed with each other, are now shown to have played an important role. It was perhaps appropriate that semi-skilled worker training was administered by the Ministry of Labour, whilst the technical schools and examination-based training were administered by the Ministry of Education, and the interplay at three different levels between authorities, employer and employee organizations perhaps helped in regularly adapting the vocational training courses to a reality which was quite different from the primary models to which it was thought the systems were adapted.

As already indicated, this ambivalence and this apparent wastage of resources precisely explain why there has been scope for competition for space on the labour market by forcing the level of training up the whole time. This is without doubt the main reason why the Danish labour market, although divided into trades and professions, has not experienced the same type of inflexibility as the British labour market. But the ambivalence and the lack of national coordination has at the same time allowed local forces to fulfil the role of system builder and create totally unique local systems, where the schools can join together to meet a particular regional requirement.

A good example is the Herning Textiles School, which today is a specialized school within the national system of basic vocational training (EFG). The school trains around 100 trainees a year within a whole range of differentiated types of training. The trainee can gradually build up his training by combining modules. The modular structure allows the student to take a few modules, go back to a job in the firm and utilize the theoretical knowledge through practical experience and then return to a course of training. The entry requirement is the basic years of EFG training. The shortest training courses on top of the EFG basic year last two years, and the trainee becomes either a hosiery, clothing, textile or dye operator, who can act as operator, set up, adjust and maintain machines. It is possible to build onto this level a further two years of training, after which the trainee becomes either a clothing, hosiery or dye technician, i.e. training which enables him or her to undertake management functions. A final concluding fourth level, also lasting for two years, makes the trainee an industrial designer and thus completes the whole period of training. Since 1985 a new line has been built up above dye training, which can now gradually lead the trainee to training as a technological engineer (teknikumingeniør) in chemistry. During the 1980s Herning succeeded in obtaining a department of the Institute of Clothing Technology for the region, and it is now able, in close collaboration with the school, to try out new materials and new technology and develop the new knowledge so that it can integrated into the courses and activities and training which takes place at the school.

Herning Textiles School was not built overnight. Its history can be traced back to the Second World War, where local employer organizations and a local department of the textile workers' trade union agreed to utilize a scheme which was aimed at training unskilled workers. The new scheme was called the Work Technology School (Arbejdsteknisk Skole), for the establishment of which the national Federation of Unskilled Labourers and the employer organizations had been able to obtain political support. At that time local trade unions and employer organizations in Herning had wanted to form a folk high school for clothing workers. The official purpose of the Work Technology School was to give unskilled workers technical training which would enable them to compete with skilled workers. This scheme was utilized in Herning slightly contrary to its official purpose, in that an evening school was developed which was to run over two winter periods with courses for workers who had great experience within the clothing industry. The courses aimed to give people with basic-level experience in the industry technical knowledge and an introduction to new technologies. The school had sixty students. During these two basic years the students were taught the general principles of the whole of the industry. The two basic years were followed by other two-year training courses, in which it was possible to specialize in various lines. In short, the basic design was in place to create a school for the industry on a local basis. In 1968 Herning employers moved very quickly when the National Clothing School in Copenhagen needed to be modernized and have new buildings. By offering a very attractive building - a former shirt factory - they made it possible for the school to be re-allocated to Herning at a time when Herning had not yet become the absolute centre of the clothing industry. The training system at local level was given a completely new institutional framework at the same time as a result of this manoeuvre. Since then every single educational reform, every single new programme aimed at developing knowledge of new technologies etc. has been utilized to expand and develop the school so that it is capable of servicing the needs of local people and firms for continuing training in the industry as well as possible.

Some of the same mechanisms appear to have been utilized in Salling in connection with the Technical School, which has been re-allocated to Skive. Among a quite narrow field of specialized training courses there is both a training course for traditional joiners and one for machine joiners and a whole host of continuing training courses for workers in the wood-working industry which are closely linked to the basic training allocated to the school. The school recently succeeded in adding another level of training at a more advanced level at Skive Technical School. A new training course makes it possible for those with a background as skilled workers in the wood-working industry to train as wood technicians. This training gives the students advanced knowledge of materials and technologies which are used in the production process at the same time as they are gaining an insight into management techniques and methods for managing a firm either as works manager or foreman. In order to be able to have the right to negotiate to ensure the permanent allocation of this training to Skive, which is close to the furniture industry in both Viborg and Ringkobing Counties, the furniture manufacturers in the two counties had to agree to vote for the same person as the Chairman of the Danish Guild of Joiners, who had the rights to negotiate on the location of various vocational training courses at national level. The plan mentioned was implemented. Skive Technical School has developed new training, and the present chairman of the Joinery Employers' Organization is in the process of gradually developing plans to introduce technical engineer training in wood technology.

Another example of the local use of centrally-run training institutions in Skive illustrates even more clearly the ability to change the central institutions over to a locally oriented system in a locality. Although technical schools and labour-market training (AMU) centres, which are particularly concerned with the training of semi-skilled workers, are sharply divided in the national government administration, it has been possible in Skive to integrate the two systems of training. The background to this is that there has been colossal demand for the products of the furniture industry in the Salling area. This has meant that the demand for skilled wood-working industry workers has not been met by the usual supply of apprentices who had completed their apprenticeships. The two schools have therefore cooperated to establish a highly advanced system of continuing training. By simply offering unskilled workers the opportunity to start with a four-week course at the AMU centre and then continue with another four-week course at the Technical School, training has been developed which makes it possible to supply industry with people who have sufficient basic training. The system has already been further developed by adding two options on top of these two four-week courses. The first option is to continue with a short period of adult apprentice training, which has been developed in cooperation with local employers. The second option is for the student who has followed the two four-week courses to continue through a series of the most advanced courses for skilled workers, which among other things introduces the students to the most advanced machines and technologies within the wood-working industry. Although the Federation of Wood-Working Industry Workers in Skive can see the paradox in its plans, local employers have been promised that an attempt will be made to encourage new members to follow a training course of this kind, despite the fact that in all probability it will lose the members who actually carry out the whole course of training.

These two examples show that it is possible to gradually build up from elements taken from various parts of the national training institutions a local system which can combine the interests of the labour market with the needs of industry. The political coalitions which are concerned with the construction of this "system" in Herning have for several years been aware that the challenge they face is even greater. Much has been learnt from experience in the 1970s, when the local area saw a large proportion of its most promising young people migrate to the cities to obtain a university education. In contrast to earlier times, when local young people often went to folk high schools in other parts of the country and then returned with fresh inspiration and projects which could enrich the local community, it was found that the university-educated young people never returned. A supply of training which can compete with that offered in the cities therefore has to be created to ensure that the most promising young people stay in the region. This objective has been pursued in Herning by establishing technology college training. But at the same time there is a desire to create an active environment for continuous advanced training. An attempt is made to ensure that this is done by coordinating the efforts of the many different schools. The managers of the schools quite simply meet once per month in the Chamber of Commerce to take joint initiatives for new training projects together with its director and representatives of industry and the labour market and coordinate each other's projects, so that they do not counteract each other's efforts to obtain State grants in support. The system of vocational training and other education thus becomes a powerful tool which the district, its firms and the population use to pull themselves up by the hair. And both in the furniture firms of the Salling area and the wood-working firms of the Herning area a remarkable degree of flexibility has been developed, which is reflected in very high industrial rates of growth over the last twenty years.

There is only a limited need for the system of vocational training to be restructured in these localities. The need is primarily to ensure that the process continues without seizing up through "wasted interests" and local corporatism.

System-building when it goes wrong: regions caught in a trap

The integration of trade and industry, the labour market and the system of vocational training at local level after a couple of successful case-studies may appear to be the very answer to the primary, theoretical problems referred to in the first section.

However, there is nothing to guarantee that this is so. A typical example of the opposite is the following imaginary example. A very large firm, such as a shipyard, which experiences widely fluctuating demand, is located in a region with a limited labour market. The existence of the firm is therefore dependent on being able to employ a widely fluctuating number of workers. In order to protect its labour market from the competing demand of other firms for labour, the large firm is cautious about not having sub-contractors in the area, and it zealously ensures through its local coalition partners and representatives of its interests that life is made difficult for firms established in the area. In short, an attempt is made to minimize the horizontal and vertical mobility of the workforce.

Vocational training in the area is limited to basic training of the workforce. There is a very low level of demand for other training activities from the firm itself. Both the firm and the trade union can easily overlook the fact that the continuing training opportunities for the workforce will simply make it easier to migrate away from the local area, attempts being made to prevent trained workers from creating new firms in the area. At the same time the firm has very low turnover of white-collar positions for people with the background of a skilled worker, due to people only leaving white-collar positions when they retire.

A system of this kind is obviously only formed when the trade union and firm enter into a coalition. On the other hand, the trade union has a great inclination to do this, because the firm can threaten to lock out and dismiss the workers. The trade union therefore has good reasons for entering into the coalition in order to protect the overwhelming majority of its members. At the same time, coalitions of this kind have often entailed an agreement to develop the local community to a model version of the "welfare state". In many cases the most advanced versions of the traditional Scandinavian "welfare society" have existed in localities which have been run in this way.

In a world of increasing uncertainty, this version of local integration of the system of vocational training with the labour market and the large firm shows its weakness the moment the large firm nevertheless has to close. The local community has so little left with which to recreate its dynamism that the primary or theoretical problem for the system of vocational training, which we formulated above, appears to be far more surmountable than this. Here there is a serious need for the local practice of administering vocational training to be changed suddenly, but there have been few thorough analyses of how the system of vocational training can be used in the face of such great challenges. Paradoxically the system of vocational training is one of the major means of creating fresh dynamism in a situation of this kind which requires re-adjustment at all levels, from the deepest values of the local population to its practical skills.

Local system-building and politics at national and European level

These three stories have been told to make it self-explanatory why the first two were successful and the third became a fiasco. And it is without doubt easy for the State to see the need for national correction, which ought to have been applied in the last example in order to avoid the catastrophe that occurred.

But can anyone see that something has gone wrong before a catastrophe occurs? The last example is imaginary, but it is very reminiscent of a situation which arose in some local communities which under the social-democratic welfare state in the fifties and sixties were regarded as model examples of what the majority wanted to build. The examples are in northern Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland. They are in all cases communities where the local ability to establish trusting cooperation between firms and trade unions has been outstanding, local communities which have evoked the admiration and jealousy of those around.

How could a government have discovered that the local area was administering its system of vocational training incorrectly when all organized groups were more than satisfied with being offered the opportunities which the system created for people and firms?

A brief re-examination of our successful cases examined above shows the variable nature of the criteria which we and the State adopt in assessing local systems of this kind. Would we not a few years ago, when we thought that the only European future for industry was high-tech, have condemned the training policy of Herning and Skive to failure? Could it not be regarded as quite indefensible to allow a large and increasing proportion of the labour force to be trained for a future in low-technology industries such as textiles and furniture? Today this training of the workforce appears to be one important condition to be met for firms to develop in such a way as to be able to meet international challenges. But could the success of the two regions not easily turn into fiasco?

Conclusions

In countries where local areas are allowed some autonomy, it can have fatal consequences if the State tries to correct its vocational training policy on the basis of general ideas on what role the system of vocational training played in the past, and what role it ought to have in the present and future. It will only be possible to identify the need for re-adjustment at the level at which the national system is implemented as a practical system. Our knowledge of these practical systems is quite slight, however, and we can only guess what role the State is to play if it begins to acquire this fresh insight.

Perhaps, in contrast to what has been in fashion in many European countries in recent years, the State ought to counteract the over-integration of the system of trades and vocational training which has a tendency to take place and which is required if the local systems are to contribute to developing the flexibility which has been achieved in some of the most dynamic regions in Europe?

Some key developments in the role of the vocational training partners in France

In the French vocational training system there has always been a clear-cut division between initial vocational training, taught, using school methods, in educational establishments answerable to and financed by the State, and continuing vocational training financed by enterprise and based on cooperation and negotiation by the social partners.

This historical structure is being outdated by the economic and social changes which have been calling this division of vocational training increasingly into question for the last fifteen years. The role of training partners, the State and the social partners has consequently been changing. The issue at stake is the construction of a new type of link between vocational training and employment in which every partner's role has to be reformulated.

Jean-François Germe

Economist, Assistant to the Director of CEREQ from 1982-1988, then Director of ADEP. Currently in charge of "forecasting and development" at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (CNAM), Paris

The separatist approach

During the 1960s in particular, vocational training in France increasingly took the form of schooling in establishments run by the Ministry of Education. At the same time, there has been a decrease in many economic sectors in the initial vocational training provided by enterprise in company or vocational schools for which the various professional branches are responsible. Apprenticeship has gradually been limited to the trade and craft sectors. This is what Antoine Prost has called the scholarization of apprentices.

Employers' professional organizations and workers' trade unions are undoubtedly important partners in this system: they are consulted and give their opinion on improvements to the vocational diplomas issued within the initial training system.

Both these diplomas and the consultation system are for the most part organized through a sectoral approach which is much the same as the approach used for negotiation by the social partners in the areas of pay, grading and so on. However, the professions have gradually been abandoning their responsibilities in the area of initial training and have started to become "customers" for the "products" of the educational system.

The 1971 law provided a framework for what was a rapid increase in the involvement of enterprise in continuing vocational training. This law did not just establish statutory expenditure by enterprise on continuing vocational training. It also laid down a framework for the system based largely on cooperation by the social partners: consultation of workers' representatives within enterprises on training plans, joint management, under the supervision of the public authorities, of the vocational training fund which finances various schemes and the establishment and management of training associations on a joint and very often sectoral basis.

This type of joint management takes place within a view of continuing training which is largely restricted to the type of education provided in schools: the statutory levy may be met by training schemes taking the form of work experience periods, excluding on-the-job training or short training courses offering training for adaptation to new plant.

This dual system of vocational training has allowed the rapid development of both initial and continuing vocational training. This development has been shaped, however, by the methods specific to each of these systems. A complex range of diplomas covering most fields of professional activity has been built up in initial vocational training. Continuing vocational training has been developed largely in the form of limited work experience periods, although workers' access to these is very uneven: little training in SMEs, little training for workers with low-level skills.

Even if a large proportion of the continuing training supply is provided by the initial training system, this separatist approach is still evident. The centralization of the initial training system and its rigid structuring contrasts with the diversity of continuing training; the essential role of the diploma in the former contrasts with the frequent lack of certification in the latter and so on. The fact that the two branches of vocational training operate in such different ways has meant that the

Manfred Vollmer

exchanges of experience and innovations between the two training systems sought by the 1971 law have been few and far between.

Factors calling the separatist approach into question

Economic developments, in the same way as developments in employment and labour, have gradually called this division of vocational training into question. These developments are well known: increasing unemployment, especially among young people, industrial restructuring and its repercussions in terms of workforce redeployment and modifications of skills and working methods. Doubts have to some extent been cast on both branches - initial and continuing - of vocational training. The transformation of labour and employment means that new links have to be found between employment and training.

Initial vocational training has been criticized for the slow way in which course contents and the specialisms taught have been modified, its inability to prevent young people leaving school with no initial vocational training, its detachment from the reality of business and its extreme centralization.

While questions about continuing vocational training have been less focused, they have not been less numerous. Unequal access to continuing training and the complexity of the system have been stressed. Its inability to anticipate redeployment needs and changing employment in enterprise, the uneven quality of the training provided, the frequent lack of certification and the high cost of some schemes have also been criticized.

These questions bear witness both to uncertainties about ways of organizing vocational training and to the importance which all the partners attribute to vocational training as one of the key factors in economic and social change. They are part and parcel of a period during which the link between training and employment is slowly being refashioned and during which those involved in training are gradually having to redefine their roles.

Since the end of the 1970s, the roles of these partners have undergone many and in some cases sometimes divergent changes.

As in many countries, local and regional authorities are playing a more important role. The regions now have wide powers over continuing vocational training and apprenticeship and to a smaller extent over initial vocational training. The advance plans which they draw up for the development of basic education include development prospects for initial vocational training and are one of the foundations for cooperation between regions and the State in this field.

Programmes to support employment policy measures and programmes to combat unemployment which contain many measures relating to training for young people and adults have meant that the State is also playing a larger and more important role.

Expenditure by enterprise on continuing training has increased substantially - it has more or less tripled in 20 years. Enterprise and professional organizations have become more aware of the importance of vocational training. The State has also been more active, developing specific training programmes for workers or providing financial backing for the efforts which sectors or enterprises are making under what is known as the undertaking to develop training.

Individual enterprises are playing an increasingly active role by stepping up their training activities and becoming more organized in this area, in some cases by linking up with their local environment. Professional organizations in the various sectors are attempting to pinpoint development trends and organize a training supply - especially continuing training - for enterprises in their sector. The 1983 Interindustry Agreement established employment (called "qualification") contracts intended to make it possible for young people to acquire a qualification while they work.

This widespread increase in the activities of the various partners involved in training has been accompanied by the emergence of new partners - especially the regions - and has helped better to define the roles of all the partners.

New links between training and employment

Several factors have complicated the acquisition of these new roles by the partners.

In the first place, they are all faced with new requirements in the area of vocational training development. Defining training needs and training objectives and forward studies of employment trends have become crucial, but difficult, stages in the design of training: from the State to enterprise, passing via sectors and regions, every partner has its own share of responsibility as regards the provision of vocational training. They have also accepted that work has a part to play in vocational training and that there is a need for alternance training: this has to be seen as a far-reaching change not only in the area of initial training but also in the area of continuing training which has often been based on the school model.

Secondly, the partners are only too aware that vocational training provision more than ever requires, if the above objectives are to be achieved, the establishment of more numerous types of cooperation, with the result that everyone's responsibilities have to be reformulated while at the same time respecting economic and individual development needs.

Thirdly, some of the current systems for partners' representation are still problematic. Reduced numbers at central trade union offices, the weakness of some employers' organizations, the increasing role played by enterprise rather than the sector and the frequent questioning of the validity of central government action do not always facilitate this gradual redefinition of everyone's action, with the result that the status quo may appear less risky than developments whose results are uncertain.

The roles of the partners have undoubtedly been undergoing major change for a number of years. Relations between schools and enterprise have changed so that there is now a greater awareness of industry in schools. In 1991 the social partners signed a new agreement on continuing training which extends the statutory expenditure requirement to enterprises with less than ten employees, improves recruitment contracts involving alternance, extends individual training leave, tackles the question of tutoring within enterprise and looks at the problems surrounding the forecasting of employment and jobs.

Paul Glaser

The main issue, however, is the gradual forging of new links between the economy and education and training. This will entail further changes to the roles of the partners.

These changes will affect the role of the training system which has yet to establish full relations with the economic world and which will need to find a way of balancing the continuation of a national system, aimed at equal opportunities, and a decentralization of the system allowing adaptation to the local economic context.

Changes will also take place in enterprise which will have to find ways of helping with vocational training by developing tutoring and reception facilities for young people. Enterprise, like schools, must establish methods of cooperation in which clear responsibilities are defined so that neither is relegated to a subordinate position.

There will be changes in employers' and workers' organizations, whose responsibilities will increasingly include the definition of training needs and the management of vocational training and changes in the role of the State which will have to clear spaces, in continuing as well as initial vocational training, for the social and professional partners. The responsibilities of the State and of professional organizations need to be clarified in the area of vocational training, especially initial training. Various developments are possible: forging closer links between apprenticeship and employment contracts offering training at work and the school system of vocational training in which the State plays a central role; establishing a training system based on apprenticeship and these contracts jointly managed by the social partners; extending the role of the regions in vocational training.

The repercussions of the economic and social changes of the last ten years on the roles of the various partners in vocational training are consequently far from over.

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Coordination of a number of agencies for vocational training in Emilia Romagna

This article looks at a number of projects connected with vocational training (equal opportunities schemes, labour market monitoring units, experiments with vocational training courses, measures to develop backward areas, training courses for trainers, etc.) which have been launched in Emilia Romagna. The article then goes on to show that one of the main reasons for the success of these projects has been the coordinated work of a number of public and private partners. The possibility of an exchange between various European regions based on cooperation among several groups of partners is then envisaged.

Emilia Romagna is considered to be one of the most innovative Italian regions as regards vocational training provision. One of the main reasons for this success is that the region has a number of agencies working together to formulate projects, laws and ventures.

The regional agencies most involved with vocational training are the Vocational Training, School and University Inspectorate (called the Regional Inspectorate below) and ERVET.

Vittorio Capecchi

lecturer in sociology at the University of Bologna and Director of the regional labour market monitoring unit.

The Regional Inspectorate has a general department for vocational guidance, monitoring policies, etc., and departments specializing in the various sectors (industry, services, agriculture) and receives reports from the regional labour market monitoring unit (which has a technical committee consisting of eight university lecturers and monitoring units in all provinces) and the regional equal opportunities commission which is active in provinces and in many communes through a councillor or inspector with special responsibility for this issue. Other centres such as IRPA (Regional Learning Institute) specialize in adult training and training for the handicapped and have recently extended their activities to include immigrants.
ERVET is a regional business service centre offering general services for all businesses in the region and a range of specialist services for particular types of firm - in the knitwear centre of Carpi, for instance, a special centre called CITER has been set up to encourage technological development and training projects for this particular group of firms.
Business associations (in particular associations of small craft firms) and cooperative and union organizations also play a very active role in vocational training in Emilia Romagna. University and school facilities and vocational training centres are consequently supported by a wide range of public and private agencies which have up to now been able to work together on projects of overall interest.

Examples of this type of cooperation are examined below.

Equal opportunities schemes

In 1991 the regional equal opportunities commission published a report, edited by Adele Pesce, entitled *L'altra Emilia Romagna* (The other Emilia Romagna), outlining the past and present socio-economic development of the Emilia Romagna region and examining what has happened to the various generations of women and men. Using this kind of approach, which looks at men and women in terms of their power relationships, different working conditions and so on, to analyse the development of a region calls into question conventional asexual analysis methods which tend not to differentiate between men and women and speak of "people" or "young people" with the emphasis largely on men.

The network of equal opportunities counsellors and workers mentioned above is attempting to ensure that the woman's point of view is taken into account in the issues examined in this article. There have been a number of positive actions. The problem lies, however, in initiating discussion of traditional methods of labour organization and training supply which takes account of women as partners with a role to play in regional and provincial ventures involving a number of partners. In Emilia Romagna, as elsewhere, there is still a great deal of cultural resistance to the idea that women have a central role to play in almost all the multi-partner projects which have been launched.

Labour market monitoring units

The regional labour market monitoring unit publishes an annual report entitled *Scuola, formazione professionale e mercato di lavoro* (School, vocational training and the labour market) which aims to identify the features of the labour supply leaving the school or vocational training systems, the demand from the working world and the way in which labour supply is matched with demand.

A number of agreements involving many agencies, experts and associations have been needed to obtain detailed information on these four issues.

For instance, the survey of the flows of men and women leaving the educational system is regulated by an agreement between the monitoring unit, ISTAT (the central statistical office), provincial education offices, IRRSAE (regional institutes for educational research, innovation and in-service training), schools superintendents, provinces and regional educational and information and statistics offices. The monitoring unit carries out the work involved in producing the two surveys and uses this information, together with demographic data, to provide five-year forecasts of the numbers of men and women, and their different types and levels of education, in the different provinces likely to enter the labour market (forecasts of some importance bearing in mind that numbers in the 16-29 age band have been falling over the last ten years).

A survey regulated by an agreement between the monitoring unit and the regional research departments of three business associations (CNA, the Cooperative League and Unioncamere) identifies the labour needs of businesses and the problems which they face in recruiting workers with particular trades. Under an agreement with the regional trade union office (CRESS), information is provided on occupational structures in enterprise.

The regional monitoring unit also has close links with other European regions such as Baden-Württemberg and Alsace.

Special projects to redefine occupational areas and modify the training supply

The Regional Inspectorate has been working on two projects in 1991-92: the "flexible automation" project looking at developments in the production of automated plant and the "cultural and urban assets" project monitoring conservation and restoration in the construction industry.

These two projects have involved a number of partners. In the first project, for instance, the Regional Inspectorate called upon the services of ASTER (Emilia Romagna's technological development agency), CERMET (ERVET's regional technological research and counselling service), the Department of electronics, informatics and systems engineering of Bologna University and three private consultancy companies (Isvo-Fiat, West 80 and RSO).

An approach which the Regional Inspectorate hopes to apply more generally has emerged from these sectoral projects, that of grouping together the many occupational profiles and categories currently in use in enterprise in order to specify the trades carried on in a few broad occupational areas providing a focus for the training supply.

The "quality project" scheduled for 1993 will be a step in this direction as it will attempt to identify the supervisory profiles needed throughout manufacturing industry to ensure process and product quality. This project again involves a number of partners: Regional Inspectorate, University of Bologna, National Research Council, ERVET and the private consultancy companies Isvor Fiat, RSO and Kentron.

The province of Bologna project on "training requirements in the textile clothing sector" is interesting since it also involves the trade unions as a partner. The inclusion of trade unions means that working conditions and the strategies used by many firms to downgrade many jobs occupied by women are taken into account in relationships between supply and demand (in a sector such as textiles and clothing which employs a large number of women). Involving a large number of partners in a project is important if it leads to the expression of different points of view (those of workers and employers) and leads to compromises allowing the more general interests of the community as a whole to be satisfied.

Educational and vocational guidance

In 1991 the Regional Inspectorate formulated a "guidance project" based on national law 492/88 on training system innovation.

This project examines the various guidance ventures which have been launched in Emilia Romagna (Informagiovani, Women's Centres, Business Support Centres, CIOP, agencies and links between school and work and reception centres for immigrants) as well as experiments conducted in previous years: the "Pilot project" (intended to help school-leavers having problems finding work or other types of training) and "Retravailler" (projects to return women to paid work based on the methods tested in France).

The aim of the "guidance project" is to build up the *training* available for those people with the most problems and to increase the range of *information* available.

In the area of training projects, the aim is to build on the experience acquired from the Pilot project and apply it to differing needs emerging from more detailed analyses. In the case of information services, the aim is to find out whether it is feasible to provide increasingly personalized information and to establish a "network" among the various partners involved (school system, vocational training system, universities, working world) with an "organizational centre" at regional level to ensure that information is gathered and disseminated throughout the region.

Vocational training experiments

Examples of vocational training experiments involving several partners are discussed below.

Two projects are in the area of work training. In the first project vocational training courses have been offered by four State vocational schools. This type of cooperation is very unusual in Italy, given the clear divide between schools (run by the State) and vocational training (run by the regions), with the result that the project is very innovative.

The recent regional project to extend in-company work experience periods after many years of summer "stages" in companies for secondary school pupils is also of interest. Under a new agreement between the region, business associations, unions and the educational system this experiment will be run more systematically (not just in the summer months) and will also involve universities (allowing students in technical faculties to attend periods of work experience in specialist firms).

EBER (the region's bilateral association of craft firm and union organizations) has formulated a "training project" to improve the quality of training and employment contracts and a protocol of agreement has been signed by the province of Bologna and associations of craft firms and unions to provide training both within and outside enterprise for people recruited under these contracts, along the lines of the German dual system.

An innovative course for equal opportunities workers is also being run by the provinces of Bologna and Ravenna and is intended to provide women working for unions and political structures (hospitals, research centres, local authorities, etc.) with economic, sociological, legal and computer skills so that positive action will become more widespread.

Experiments with business training

The regional government is helping to support the growth of enterprise culture through a number of laws (on youth enterprise, technological innovation, etc.) and in particular through the general and specialist services offered by ERVET which, in addition to regional services, is setting up local centres (with public/private capital) for the development of particular types of enterprise (clothing, ceramics, mechanical engineering, etc.).

Provinces and communes have also launched a number of ventures such as the Commune of Bologna's Transition Workshops which provide training and equipped facilities for people working in arts and crafts, research, etc., who need space in the city centre. The commune provides equipped spaces for three years thereby helping the businesses through the start-up stage. These ventures are being run jointly by the commune and craft business associations.

Other ventures have been launched directly by craft firm associations which have formed links with universities, local authorities and unions (through EBER, the bilateral organization mentioned above).

Women's groups have also launched various initiatives such as the "Woman Incubator" project at the Bologna Technology Park which is also a focal point for a number of possible business routes.

Special projects to develop depressed areas

A very good example of cooperation by a number of partners to develop a depressed area has been promoted by the Regional Inspectorate which has set in motion the IMP plan for the development of the mountain communities of the Emilia Romagna region.

During the initial stage (1988-90), this project took the form of 137 courses, work induction for 1026 young people and the creation of 40 businesses; the current stage of the project (1991-93) is interesting both as regards its objectives (job creation for 300 people and retraining for 1300 people, particularly small business owners) and the teaching methods used (considerable use has been made of distance training).

While the emphasis was placed on agricultural work and forestry during the initial stage, retraining is also having an impact on small industrial and craft businesses in the current stage.

The partners coordinating this project are chiefly local authorities and business associations with help from experts and companies specializing in new teaching methods.

Special projects to retrain immigrants

In recent years immigrants have come to Emilia Romagna from various African, Asian and Latin American countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Senegal, Philippines, Pakistan, Brazil, etc.) and have been able to find work only in precarious jobs involving few skills (women in domestic work and cleaning firms, men in building, meat butchery, foundries, etc.).

Many of these immigrants have high-level educational qualifications and skills which could be put to much better use. The province of Bologna has set up a "round table" involving business associations, unions and the province in order to work out a strategy for work and training courses for immigrants to help them to find better jobs.

A task force coordinated by an officer from the regional monitoring unit has been set up to implement the project. This force has three types of member: men and women from the various immigrant communities, representatives of unions, business associations, training centres, reception centres and the province and commune and project officers and university lecturers with knowledge of the backgrounds of immigrants.

Evaluation/monitoring of training quality

Evaluation and monitoring of training quality is also regulated by agreements among a number of partners at regional and provincial level.

Among all the Italian regions, Emilia Romagna has made the most use, in absolute terms, of the European Social Fund.

This is due to the three-year planning system set up by the Regional Inspectorate and also to the Committee formed by business associations, unions and the region which approves courses, thereby providing two guarantees that other Italian regions are unable to provide: (a) courses are approved after three months of investigation (in other regions courses may be run up to one and a half years after they have been planned); (b) courses are funded by the region if EEC payments are delayed.

This efficient procedure is now being supplemented by a *Quality project* on vocational training which is linked to the broader quality project adopted under the regional development plan. This project makes use of the national fund for innovation and is based on the direct involvement of the provincial authorities, unions, business associations and organizations and operators in the sector. This quality evaluation has a threefold aim: (a) quality of training ventures in comparison with the quality requirements laid down by the region (overall quality of projects, process quality, quality of results and effectiveness as regards businesses and individuals); (b) quality guarantees provided by training centres and agencies; (c) quality of plans and operational quality of the training system as a whole in relation to the strategic choices laid down in the regional development plan.

The training project for trainers run by the educational sciences department of Bologna University in cooperation with ISFOL

The educational sciences department of Bologna University and ISFOL (the Ministry of Labour's national centre for vocational training) have formulated a training project for trainers intended to train European vocational training specialists. This is a national project which is based on experiments conducted in Emilia Romagna. This project has links with CEDEFOP and involves a number of European universities (the promoting university of Paris Dauphine, the Polytechnic University of Catalonia, Lancaster University and the Akademie Führungspädagogik of Landau/Pfalz).

One of the particular aims of the Italian project is to train specialists in the organization of vocational training at regional level: course trainees are people already working in responsible jobs in the regions and in vocational training organizations operating at regional level.

Four regions (Veneto, Tuscany and Apulia in addition to Emilia Romagna) are working together on the project and business associations and unions will also be directly involved.

The aim of this project is not just to disseminate technical skills throughout Italy but also to disseminate a culture of regional socio-economic development which takes account of the various partners and which promotes the development of enterprise alongside the protection and advancement of men and women and the protection and enhancement of the environment.

Cooperation among a number of European regions as cooperation among groups of partners from different regions

The examples discussed above illustrate ways of developing vocational training in the various European regions and of building up exchanges of information and cooperation in these regions.

When larger numbers of partners are involved (regions, provinces, schools, vocational training, universities, business associations, unions, equal opportunity commissions, immigrant communities, etc.), projects obviously become more complex, more interesting and more effective as their focal point is that of the whole community (and of the community of immigrants' original countries) and not just the point of view of individual businesses or training centres, etc.

The involvement of a number of partners guarantees the dissemination of projects leading to the economic and social development of a region since real attempts are made to link "economic" and "social" aspects from a point of view which nowadays has to take account of east/west and north/south divides throughout the world. The protection and advancement of men and women and the protection and enhancement of the environment may be neglected when the most stress is laid on economic strategies whose sole aim is to increase the short-term profits of enterprise.

The socio-economic development of a region depends on a number of partners working together towards the overall development of an area's human, natural and technological resources and viewing problems in the medium and long term.

If this strategy is shared by the various European (and non-European) regions it is possible to envisage exchanges of information and cooperation on a variety of projects involving groups of partners. Not just cooperation among unions separate from cooperation among firms separate from cooperation among regional authorities, etc., but cooperation on projects involving a number of partners from the various European regions looking at development from an international point of view.

Employers, unions and consultative forums in Dutch vocational education

The main feature of the far-reaching reforms under way in Dutch vocational education is the increased role and responsibility assigned to industry, both employers' organizations and the trade unions. To this end new consultative bodies are planned at national level while at regional and local level links between colleges and employers are being strengthened. An important element is the dualization of vocational education, with employers taking on a more direct responsibility for course content. This paper discusses a number of problems arising in connection with this attempt to break down traditional divisions between industry and initial vocational training.

Introduction

A major feature of the reform of Dutch vocational education is the growing involvement of employer and worker organizations and the role of consultative bodies. The active involvement of industry is relatively new (Van Dijk *et al.*, 1987). Much of the vocational education on offer in the Netherlands is provided in schools and colleges, which have traditionally given their students a general education and training in the theoretical aspects of their subjects but have done little by way of practical preparation for work. At the same time Dutch employers (unlike e.g. their German counterparts) have tended to regard initial vocational training as primarily the responsibility of the state.

Jeroen Onstenk

Jeroen Onstenk has worked as a researcher at the University of Amsterdam's Centre for Educational Research (SCO) since 1984. With thanks to Elly de Bruijn and Eva Voncken for their comments and suggestions.

It was in 1982 that the position began to change. Initiatives are increasingly being introduced aimed at enhancing flexibility, dualizing and decentralizing vocational education and extending industry's role and responsibility. This paper looks at the new forms of consultation between the worlds of education and work (cf. Hövels *et al.*, 1990). Within the different sectors of industry there are national consultative bodies responsible for training profiles, learning targets and curricula throughout post-16 vocational education. Dualization implies a greater role for industry, particularly at local and regional level, in determining course content and structure. Increasingly too, regional agencies (rather than individual firms) are responsible for some or all of the practical component of training courses. This trend is also relevant to Intermediate Vocational Education (MBO), given the planned dualization of this educational sector. At local level networks and links are developing between colleges and individual firms which involve not just work and training placements but also, increasingly, contract activities.

The new forms of collaboration are linked with the streamlining and integration of the vocational training system. Meanwhile work is also proceeding on the integration of vocational training with adult education through the establishment of Regional Training Centres (ROCs), while in the background is the development of tripartism in employment services as worker and employer organizations are involved more directly in job-placement activities and action to reduce unemployment. Industry's involvement in job-oriented training and adult vocational education is being also enhanced in this framework.

From general to vocational education

The Netherlands has a complex education system which has traditionally put a strong emphasis on general education. In the last ten years, however, vocational education and training has come to occupy an increasingly important place. A new pattern seems to be developing as youngsters remain longer in secondary education, which is divided into two stages. First they follow a general course to the age of 16 or 18, and thereafter transfer to a vocational course at intermediate or higher level (Onstenk and Voncken, 1992). Course content is also being geared more closely to occupations: more vocational subjects are being included in the curriculum and general subjects (such as foreign languages) are being geared more closely to practical occupational requirements. There is also more stress on learning outside the school or college (Moerkamp *et al.*, 1992).

Post-16 vocational education falls into two types, the college-based Intermediate Vocational Education (MBO) and the dual apprenticeship system. These two systems have developed largely independently of one another and are governed by different legislation. The proposed reforms are aimed at bringing them together into a single training structure comprising a coherent pattern of shorter and longer courses.

Youngsters enter MBO at the age of 16, at the end of the first stage of secondary education. Since 1980 enrolment on MBO courses, which last three or four years, has increased sharply, largely thanks to the growth in courses relating to administrative, service and caring occupations (which has also meant an increase in the number of girls on MBO courses). Enrolment in MBO technical courses has also grown, but more slowly. Part-time MBO courses are available for adults.

Apprentice training is a dual system involving a practical component (three or four days a week on the job, at the work-and-training place) and a theoretical component (one or two days at college); there are elementary and advanced levels. Youngsters enter apprentice training at 16, after the first stage of secondary education, but it is also open to adults. In each sector of industry national bodies on which employers' organizations and trade unions are represented (this is not the case in college-based forms of vocational education) are responsible for training and examinations. Thanks partly to the efforts made by both government and the various industrial sectors the apprenticeship system at both elementary and advanced levels experienced strong growth in the last decade, from 1984 onwards; this growth related both to technical occupations, in which the apprenticeship system has traditionally been strong, and to administrative, service and caring occupations. More and more girls are entering apprentice training; the number of adult apprentices is also rising.

Since 1987 there has also been a full-time college-based variant (Shorter Intermediate Vocational Education, KMBO) which in principle provides training up to the same level as an elementary apprenticeship; it is included in the new training structure as shorter training.

MBO courses are taken by about twice as many students as enter the dual apprenticeship system, chiefly because there are far more MBO students in the administrative, service and caring sectors; moreover in these sectors the number of advanced courses within the apprenticeship system is relatively large. To a great extent, therefore, we have here alternative training routes into comparable occupations. On the technical side, where there are far more students in the apprenticeship system than in MBO, the traditional model still persists to some extent, with elementary apprentice training to "junior craftsperson" level geared to operative jobs while MBO courses are aimed at white-collar, design and maintenance occupations. Increasingly, however, there are holders of MBO qualifications in the more complex operative occupations, especially at the start of their career (De Grip *et al.*, 1990).

The growth in post-16 vocational education has a number of causes: alongside those which are internal to the education system or related to the state of the economy, major factors are the externalization of training and rising requirements in terms of knowledge and skills. By "externalization" is meant the shift away from internal training provided by employers, mainly on the job, to training based in educational institutions. This trend is particularly marked in the area of administrative and caring occupations: not only are these becoming much more numerous (Kloosterman and Elfring, 1991), they are also increasingly covered by new courses specific to the MBO sector. In the past entrants to administrative and caring occupations usually came straight from school, with general qualifications only, and received their vocational training internally. We are also witnessing a real rise in the levels of knowledge and skill demanded by employers, the result both of technological innovation and of rising organizational and commercial demands (e.g. in relation to product quality). On the technical side, economic recovery and the demand for higher-level qualifications (to which some controversy in fact attaches), combined with the falling numbers of teenagers, are leading to shortages of trained workers. This problem has produced numerous initiatives and campaigns aimed at drawing young people (including non-traditional groups such as girls and the children of migrants) into technical education. This has had most success in the sectors where the need is greatest and there is a close link between training and employers (Hövels *et al.*, 1990; De Bruijn and Nieuwenhuis, 1992).

Reform of post-16 vocational education

Moves to stimulate and reform vocational education have been under way since the early 1980s. While they also reflect the government's general policy of retrenchment and decentralization, their central aim has been to reduce the problem of mismatches between education and training on the one hand and industry's needs on the other. The favoured approach has been through greater involvement of industry in vocational education, with advisory committees on which industry is strongly represented playing a major role. The recommendations of the Wagner Committee (whose chairman had come from Shell) led in 1984 to agreements between government and the two sides of industry on a doubling of apprentice-training provision and closer links between the labour market and MBO (Van Dijk *et al.*, 1987). The various sectors of industry were involved in the compilation of occupational and training profiles for MBO through Sectoral Training Councils (BOOBs) which brought together the worlds of education and employment (State Secretary of Education and Science, 1986; Moerkamp and Onstenk, 1991). Contacts between colleges and firms were strengthened (De Bruijn and Voncken, 1990).

In 1990 the Rauwenhoff Committee (whose chairman was from Philips) produced a report (Rauwenhoff Committee, 1990) which led to a compact between government, employers' organizations and trade unions which was given the name "Working Together in Vocational Education" (Uitleg, 1992). The central themes of the compact were decentralization and action to remedy the mismatches between training and job requirements. The compact includes agreements on the division of responsibilities for vocational training, initial qualifications, the articulation of demand and quality control, dualization, "co-makership" (shared responsibility) and the establishment of national bodies for vocational education.

The main aim of the reform is to integrate the various training routes into a coherent system of shorter and longer courses. This involves the formation of larger institutions through mergers between MBO col-

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leges (which have traditionally been small and specialized), and increasingly between MBO colleges and institutions offering Shorter Intermediate Vocational Education (KMBO) and college-based training for apprentices (BBO). In the process steps have been taken to increase industry's role in college-based education through the establishment of national bodies to oversee vocational education and through dualization, both of which are discussed below. In this way the government is seeking to give industry joint responsibility for both the content and the funding of initial vocational training.

Towards national bodies for vocational education

It is intended that consultations on training profiles and targets be held through new national bodies which will take the main decisions within the new training structure.

In most of the MBO sector the involvement of industry is something new. Training targets (the level and content of final qualifications) have in the past been set by the education ministry while syllabuses were determined by committees dominated by subject specialists and educationists. Industry had no direct representation or responsibility, albeit in the case of technical courses there were consultative groups in which relevant sectors of industry were represented. Use was also sometimes made of studies of the subsequent career experience of those who had completed courses. Responsibility for course delivery rested with the schools and colleges themselves. The Sectoral Training Councils (which date from 1987) include equal numbers of representatives of the worlds of education and industry (both employers and unions). Interestingly, it was decided to base the structure not on the four MBO sectors (technical, administrative, agricultural and caring/administrative studies) but on industrial sectors, albeit in a less detailed fashion than in the apprenticeship system. Industry supplies the occupational profiles, which the Sectoral Councils then translate into training profiles and targets. After a hesitant start most of the Councils have performed this task reasonably well, albeit in most cases little more was done than to adjust existing targets. In practice the Councils have also often compiled the occupational profiles. To a lesser extent a start has also been made on actual implementation in curricula.

Within the apprenticeship system there have long been national bodies responsible for course content, examinations and safeguarding the standard of the practical component. Most of the national bodies are autonomous organizations jointly run by employers, unions and (to a minimal extent) the world of education. Industry thus has a much greater influence, while the role of workers' organizations is explicitly regulated.

Other than at central level the unions' input into vocational training is in fact slight (Van Dijk *et al.*, 1987): their role is either purely formal or concerned with access in the context of action against unemployment, rather than substantive. Even so training provision is often seen as a union concern, as witness the increasing number of collective agreements under which a proportion of employers' pay bill is earmarked for the expansion of apprentice training (De Vries and Hövels, 1991).

Industry's formal powers within the national bodies has not necessarily meant active concern with training: the extent of involvement has varied visibly with the state of the economy: in recessions training is often neglected, work-and-training places disappear and course content lags behind developments in the sector concerned (De Bruijn and Nieuwenhuis, 1992), and firms do not rediscover an interest in training until they face skill shortages on the labour market. When that happens it is the sectors where links between firms and training institutions are closest that are able to respond most effectively (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992).

The paper which the government issued at the end of 1991 entitled "Towards national bodies for vocational education" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1991) proposed merging the Sectoral Training Councils and the national apprentice-training bodies to form new national bodies with responsibility for all post-16 training, on the lines of the apprenticeship system. Initial responses to the paper suggest that much will need to happen before this can be achieved. On the MBO side there are fears of a takeover by industry and of threats to MBO courses' general component and their ability to prepare students for further stages of education and training. The cooperative arrangements built up between educational institutions and industrial sectors (through the Sectoral Training Councils) would in many cases have to be rejigged.

On the apprenticeship side it is the proposed sectoral restructuring that has prompted objections. Where at present there are close ties between industrial sectors and apprenticeship schemes, the new-style national bodies would have a sectoral structure grouping the various technical training courses. The government is proposing a reduction in the number of national bodies from over 30 in the case of the apprenticeship system (and 28 Sectoral Training Councils for MBO) to no more than twelve new-style bodies. Earlier experience of such moves to a larger scale of operations in the apprenticeship system (Van Dijk *et al.*, 1987) indicates that firms' direct involvement in "their" training may come under threat if that training is not geared to developments in actual occupational practice.

The government's proposals also seem largely to ignore the part played by specialized autonomous training provision in the development of professionalism and a sense of identity in an occupational field or sector (De Bruijn and Nieuwenhuis, 1992). The expansion of vocational education and training has been marked by the growth of new and sector-specific provision (e.g. in banking, tourism, process technology and logistics) whereby a given occupation or sector acquires an identity in part thanks to the existence of specialized training provision (replacing or supplementing earlier internal training). The proposed restructuring appears to cut across this trend.

Ullstein

Dualization

Thus far the debate has been predominantly technocratic in nature (Reuling, 1991), focusing on questions of control, decentralization and the financial and administrative responsibility of industry. longside national bodies and institutional expansion, dualization - the expansion of the practical component of MBO courses - is seen as the most important instrument: it was proposed in the first instance as an organizational move aimed at qualitative and quantitative improvements in the transition from vocational training to work, with considerations relating to educational theory and practice playing little or no part (Reuling, 1991; Moerkamp *et al.*, 1992). The "Working Together" compact gives no precise indications as to the form of dualization (e.g. the ratio of time spent in college and at the workplace), leaving this to be decided sector by sector (Uitleg, 1992). Employers and unions in each sector are to decide whether dualization is necessary and how many work-and-training places there are to be, while the task of implementing whatever agreements are reached will fall to individual employers and colleges, which will choose from a range of options for the dual structure. Both dual and full-time forms of training are to be retained, however, leading to qualifications of equal value. The employer will have responsibility for the practical component; supervision and quality control will be the responsibility of the training body. In the case of MBO this would mean a major change, since at present responsibility for the quality of work placements rests with the colleges (Ministry of Education and Science, 1991).

Putting these agreements into practice will not be easy. It is not clear to what extent employers are willing to provide work-and-training places in the necessary numbers and to ensure (or allow others to ensure) that they are of the required standard. Such experience as exists is not hopeful. In the course of 1992 studies are being made in this field, at both sector and employer level, but given the lack of clarity as to structure and content they may not produce much by way of hard information.

The growth of the apprenticeship system in the 1980s brought with it a change in the nature of "training places". As in Germany, various types have grown up, ranging from separate "training corners" to shared training activities (Frietman, 1990). Dualization will therefore probably have to involve the expansion of shared forms of training. The characteristic feature is that responsibility for the practical component rests no longer with individual firms but with groups of firms, the regional organization for the industrial sector in question or some other outside body. This is intended to help improve quality control and promote nationally uniform standards and reduce the sensitivity of employer-provided training to the state of the economy. However, such approaches require close links between training provision and the industrial sector concerned if the benefits of reduced mismatches and a smooth transition from training to work are to be realized.

Equal status for dual and full-time variants will be hard to achieve. Formal safeguards are not enough, as the example of the full-time KMBO courses has shown: formal parity with apprentice training has by no means always translated into equality on the labour market. In the case of full-time MBO courses, which in many sectors of industry have higher status than dual courses precisely because of their greater theoretical content, the difficulty is that of structuring dual training in such a way as to safeguard existing standards. The debate on this issue has scarcely begun, but industry is already questioning the feasibility of dualizing existing MBO courses with their theoretical bias; this is aside from the question of industry's willingness to assume responsibility for the task.

The government's proposals involve an integrated national training structure while at the same time providing for greater autonomy on the part of colleges vis à vis the education ministry coupled with closer links with regional industry. This would create a tension between national standards and targets on the one hand and the decentralization of responsibility, content and quality control on the other.

Within the apprenticeship system responsibility for monitoring and maintaining training standards, the practical component and examinations has long rested with the national bodies (and hence the two sides of industry); this arrangement gives rise to many problems. In relation to MBO (with its far larger numbers of students) such a structure will need to be created from scratch while at the same time individual colleges (and their networks of employers) are given more power and independence - a dual system with a split personality?

Conclusion

A striking feature of trends in the Netherlands is the proliferation of intermediary structures, consultative bodies in which educational institutions and the two sides of industry are expected to reach agreements on the form and content of vocational training. Existing bodies (Chambers of Commerce, sectoral organizations) are not used; instead new organs have been established in which industrial sectors are strongly represented. This indirect arrangement means that while agreements on occupational profiles and training targets are reached relatively quickly (as the experience of the Sectoral Training Councils shows), the subsequent process of implementation is often long-drawn-out and laborious. Also striking is the very general nature of recent agreements, under which the work of fleshing-out and preparation for implementation is left to sectors of industry and training bodies. In this connection the state has far more ways of bringing pressure to bear on the colleges (funding, standard-setting, quality control) than on employers. The approach adopted to achieving an integrated training structure, dictated by considerations of a managerial nature, does not sit easily with the goal of closer and more direct links with industry, and it is also questionable to what extent firms are willing and able to take up the greater role assigned to them in initial vocational training and to guarantee the quality of training at the workplace.

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Participation of the social partners in education policy. Decision-making relating to training colleges in Portugal(1)

The Portuguese people are seeing responsibility given to new agents and dialogue and negotiation being institutionalised. This has occurred not only with the Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social, now known as the Conselho Económico e Social, in the case of economic and social policies but also with bodies such as the National Education Council (in the case of education policy) and the National Apprenticeship Committee and even the Conselho Consultivo Nacional para a Educação Tecnológica, Artística e Profissional for the technological, artistic and vocational education sub-systems at lower levels of education.

There is therefore a demand for different agents to participate in defining sector policies. In education this demand will make cooperation between the education and the social economic systems more apparent and make new forms of decision-making possible.

At the same time a new concept of Vocational Education/Training is being developed. New profiles and new skills required for the latest operations lead to new ways of organising and planning training and education projects in which there is also more participation economically and socially and more decentralisation.

The problem of the role of agents defining education and training policies in Portugal lies in establishing policies for both education project organisation and management. It involves developing the education model of training colleges which are seen as a special area for developing relationships between the education system and the economic and social system. Training colleges involve agents not traditionally involved in the education system, as we will indicate later.

It is in this context that the social and economic partnership appears as a *partnership of social partners with educational objectives*, leading to the setting up of Training Colleges. This partnership, which is the result of relationships between the education and the economic and social systems, forms a structure for the relationships.

We will therefore begin by referring briefly to the aspects of the *Training Colleges education model*, which are essential for understanding the model in relation to the objectives which we suggest in the article. We will then examine the concept of *social educational partnership*. This partnership is a model for the Training Colleges.

I. A new training model

I.1 Objectives

Training Colleges (2) represent an alternative type of training to the official education system which follows compulsory education, giving students more choice and preparing the way for the creation of conditions for young people to organise their own training courses. They enable the options to be extended and at the same time intermediate technicians, a grade of which there is a serious shortage in Portugal, to be qualified. (3)

Training Colleges are being set up primarily to satisfy the three following objectives:

- to provide the country with the manpower required at national, local and regional level in a situation of modernisation and economic, cultural and social development.
- to provide young people who have completed basic education with new opportunities for training and personal and social realisation under a policy of gradually reducing inequalities of opportunity.
- to rationalise the use of existing local and regional resources and resources avail-

Margarida Marques
Assistant Director of the Portuguese Ministry of Education
Gabinete de Educação Tecnológica, Artística e Profissional (GETAP). Member of the Comissão Nacional de Aprendizagem (National Apprenticeship Committee) representing the Ministry of Education. Member of European Community Commission PETRA Programme Consultative Committee

able in various State departments (installations, equipment and manpower).

The colleges are founded to satisfy the objectives and in accordance with the philosophy of this type of training, principally as a result of local, regional or activity sector initiative, or are promoted by public or private bodies - local authorities, cooperatives, enterprises, trade unions, associations, foundations, friendly societies or the Ministries of Education or Employment and Social Security and other institutions - individually or in association through cooperation agreements.

1.2 Stages in decision-making

The promoters of a college are in fact those who are involved in the decision to found it. Four stages are identifiable in decision-making: (i) formation of the idea, (ii) from the idea to the project submitted, (iii) from submission of the project to its negotiation with the State and, finally, (iv) materialisation of the project.

Formation of the idea
This is integration of an idea with its relationship with *the identification of a training* requirement (4) in the region and/or activity sector. Identification is generally the result of bilateral or multilateral dialogue between the various parties concerned.

From the idea to the project
This stage consists of *negotiation/agreement between the agents (promoters) involved in the project.* It is an integral part of the conception of the project. It is now that it becomes "visible". It is primarily a stage when aims, resources, type of organisation and, finally, interests are harmonised. It involves preparing a project which is submitted to GETAP (Gabinete de Educação Tecnológica, Artística e Profissional), the body which has the role of regulator in implementing this type of education at State level.

From submission of the project to negotiation with the State.
This is primarily *negotiation between the promoters and the State.*

After initially accepting the project, *it is negotiated* and subjected to a feasibility study - with provision for joint participation by the State and the promoter(s), as was stated earlier - followed by the preparation of a contract.

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The college is then founded by signing the contract (5) between the promoter(s) and the State represented by GETAP.

Fulfilment of the College project
The college is founded after the contract is signed. This stage is equivalent to materialisation of the project or making it operational. It is not equivalent to the "application" of a project defined initially and specified in the contract but to gradual construction. In other words, participation of those concerned in the conception and organisation does not end with the founding of the college but those concerned (promoters) will continue to participate in teaching, administration and financial management, which in each case is different. There is also dialogue with GETAP, although colleges are independent administratively, financially and in respect of teaching.

Training Colleges also provide an opportunity for innovation in participation by those concerned with education project decision-making.

There are various agents in this case. This type of education aims to use for educational purposes a number of agents not traditionally associated with the official education system In addition to lecturers, students, managers and administrators, there is now another group, the promoters. Furthermore, supervision of these projects - the Colleges - by the authorities varies. It is carried out on an individual basis, the result of the independent nature and diversity of the projects and the identity each project is constructing.

II. The concept of social educational partnership

As a result of the emergence of new social situations, such as decentralisation and participation, and the socio-economic evolution these colleges are also in harmony with other training partners.

Approval in the Portuguese Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social (CPS) of the Social and Economic Agreement signed by the Government and the Social Partners in October 1990 *places the problem of the initial training of young people in this new area.* The Agreement states:

"In the field of education, vocational training and entry into the labour market, the CPCS also agrees, ... to establish the bases for signing a vocational training policy agreement in the first quarter of

1991 aiming at the promotion of training increasingly more appropriate for the needs of the country, teaching qualification and effective organisation, *consolidation of the role of the social partners in this field* and the creation of conditions to make existing structures more operational, i.e. taking into consideration the following lines of action: (i) Development of vocational qualifications, especially the technical and vocational component of intermediate and higher training, with the object of optimising the *association between the college and the world of work* and providing equal opportunities for *entry into working life*; (ii) Recognition of the need to combat *leaving the education system early*."

These are clearly defined areas in initial training (and in continuing training) where it is planned to consolidate the role of the social partners.

This is in addition to the existing tripartite structures, with action in relation to initial training, as in the case of the Conselho Consultivo para a Educação Tecnológica Artística e Profissional (GETAP) and the Comissão Nacional de Aprendizagem (which supervises the Apprenticeship system) or the Conselho Nacional de Educação Council, which were referred to earlier.

The purpose of the education system is to prepare young people for the different aspects of life, among which is work. The education system does not stand alone but interacts with others - the economic, political, social and demographic systems.

The partnership, which ensures that the various social agents participate in the education process, thus appears to be a necessity. The social education partnership is an instrument of cooperation in one aspect of the relationship between the education system and the economic and social system.

These cooperation strategies can only be successful if objective and activity policies relating to the administration and organisation of education projects are in line.

They will make significant contributions to the organisation of projects, including the identification of teaching projects locally, the construction of training and assessment situations and the investigation of skills.

When we speak of a social education partnership, we mean an effective partnership between the different parties in the whole decision-making process, not participation in preparing decisions as providers of information or as mediators for a social technology suggested by the State which prepares and creates conditions for the acceptance of its initiative(s) socially.

The social education partnership appears in social organisation, in the development of situations such as participation at different levels - and in education, in decentralisation when responsibility and authority are transferred to the nearest local and regional levels.

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Consequently it appears as a *form of participation of the social agents in the realisation of education projects within relationships between the education system and the economic and social system.*

It is a way of making a form of cooperation materialise, in which interaction between the education system and the economic and social system in education projects is assumed, creating a participated decision-making authority in which the agents will be represented supporting specific interests from different angles.

The social education partnership thus appears as *a partnership of social partners with educational objectives.*

III. Social education partnership - a pattern for the training colleges

As a result of their origin Training Colleges form part of a special relationship in the social education context in which education projects are planned. This relationship is assisted by participation of the non-traditional social agents in the official education system, the promoters. Projects are planned after identifying the training requirements arising from local development and/or sector modernisation policies but not satisfied by existing methods. Training is therefore an essential factor in development.

In projects there are trends in requirements which, although not pronounced, can lead to new skills, i.e. they do not only respond to training requirements but new skills may be introduced to employers.

Local and sectorial social dialogue in a social education partnership assists the colleges: the major lines of action - new courses, new classes, short and medium term college development policies are defined by the promoters.

A social education partnership materialises when a college is founded - in the idea.

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in construction of the project, in negotiation with the State and in the management, with each stage taking on different characteristics. A project generally has a leader, which in many cases is the local authority. New agents are gradually added to college projects on the basis of dialogue/negotiation and the examination of interests of bodies considered to be representative of the social and economic structure in which the college is situated.

The relationship between promoters and new agents - or rather traditional and non-traditional agents - in an education project is complex; each group of agents represents different interests and has different authority, characterised by areas of uncertainty and risk depending on the relationship of forces; this raises the problem of the autonomy of colleges.

Management of this complexity - richness of information, of possible interactions between variety of status and evolution (Melese) - is based on conflict - (dynamic equilibrium/stability) - which can lead to higher levels of complexity, therefore to higher levels of product quality. The problem is not to reduce the complexity but to make the organisation more complex in the sense of the better distribution of the perception and combination of numerous internal and external factors and the possibility of action at all levels (Melese, 1990:8).

Will the social education partnership be a pattern for the Training Colleges?

We considered the emergence of new social situations - decentralisation, participation - and the social education evolution as contexts favourable for the appearance of social education partnerships.

Training Colleges are associated with the *social economic development and modernisation policies of the region and the activity sector* in which they are situated.

The power of local authorities, resulting from transferring central administration responsibilities to them and the ability demonstrated by these authorities to resolve problems at local level and undertake development of the regions is not alien to this situation.

It is in fact underlying *decentralisation.*

Decentralisation, when the capacity for the creation and management of education projects in which the State assumes the role of regulator (7) is transferred from education central administration to local initiative, i.e. by bodies other than the authorities.

The value of *participation* is clear, first in the enterprise, trade union, culture association movement, selecting education/training as another area of action participating in the planning, organisation and management of education projects. They constitute an area of negotiation not only between the various parties directly associated with the project but also with the State.

The enthusiasm created at each College, or the enthusiasm leading to the foundation of each college, is influenced by the *context* into which the college is introduced. There is a *contingency* function (Thom, Prigogine): the state in which a system (the college) is at any time depends on its history, interactions and the multiple factors in play.

Coherence of objectives is indicated as a condition for the success of education projects arising from a social education partnership. Here, in addition to coherence of objectives, *there is a combination of interests, sometimes different but negotiable, with a special form of relationship between the education and the economic systems.*
The initial stages in planning a Training College are negotiation between promoters, (if there are several associated promoters), followed by negotiation between the promoters and the State and, finally, between the State and the college. Colleges are the result of social education partnerships which can identify education projects at local level and create new education resources. These are social education partnerships within which the development of the college project takes place.

Notes

(1) This article is based on a survey we carried out on vocational education policy decision-making in relationships between the education system and the social and economic system.

(2) The legislation applicable to the creation of Training Colleges was brought into force by Decree-Law no. 26 of 21 January 1989.

(3) Studies forecasting manpower requirements indicate a serious lack of highly qualified intermediate salaried staff and show that staff at this level are vital for modernising our country. See GEP 1986, "Desenvolvimento dos Recursos Humanos em Portugal. Cenários até 2005".

(4) The concept of "training requirements", especially the methods leading to the "identification of training requirements" give rise to ambiguity. As the traditional costing methods of forecasting labour requirements are no longer applicable, new methods have been introduced, such as contributions from the so-called forecasting studies (Godet) based on the "policy of agents".

(5) The contract defines the responsibility of each of the bodies concerned and the management, administration and teaching structures, schemes of study, levels of qualification of the courses to be organised by the college and the resources involved, taking into consideration their financial feasibility.

(6) In view of the flexibility underlying Training Colleges, the establishment of the major lines of action is not resolved when a college is started but is of significant importance throughout the project.

(7) Regulator of initiatives and during the initiative.

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Flexible coordination: the future of the dual system from a labour market policy angle

The dual system of initial vocational training is currently the subject of both considerable admiration and fundamental criticism. This article summarizes the arguments for and against and puts them to an empirical test. It concludes that the advantages of the dual system outweigh its disadvantages. It is above all the institutional foundations, i.e. the flexible coordination of individual and social interests through successful cooperation among trade unions, employers and government, that give cause for optimism.

The German dual system - practical training in firms combined with theoretical training in schools - has been the Mecca of many admirers for years, but also the object of elaborate obituaries. The "pilgrims" come to Germany particularly from Anglo-Saxon countries, among them Lerman and Pouncy (1990) and Rose and Wignanek (1990), whereas the "funeral orators" e.g. Beck (1986) and Geissler (1991), are mostly Germans themselves. An ambivalent position is adopted, for example, by Lutz (1989), who vehemently defends the philosophy of occupation-based labour markets, but sees the social foundations of the dual system fading. Taking the industrial sociologist's view, Kern and Schumann (1984), on the other hand, have hopes that industrial production will be reprofessionalized and the dual system revitalized as a consequence. What is it about the dual system that attracts the admirers? What is it that causes prominent experts on the dual system to predict its demise? What arguments are there in fact for and against these extremely different expectations?

Günther Schmid

Professor of the Economic Theory of Politics at the Free University of Berlin and Director of the Department for Labour Market Policy and Employment at the Scientific Centre for Social Research, Berlin

Seen from the angle of the researcher who specializes in labour market policy, three questions in particular need to be asked about the vocational training system: does the dual system react flexibly to pronounced (quantitative) fluctuations in the demand for training places or to changes in the demand for skilled workers, or can it be blamed for a high level of unemployment (among young people) or for shortages of skills and so for lower growth rates? Does the system produce skills that meet the rapidly changing requirements at workplaces, or is it largely to blame for a skill mismatch, i.e. structural unemployment? Finally, does the dual system contribute to the segmentation or occupational segregation of the labour market and so - losses of efficiency aside - to sustained social and economic inequalities of prospects in life due to employment?

Hopes

What attracts the "pilgrims" to the land of the dual system (Switzerland and Austria also have a dual system of initial vocational training) is primarily its quantitative flexibility: the dual system appears to offer almost all young people a vocational training, especially those who fail or, because of their social background, have no chance at the higher level of general education. Two important social side-effects are associated with this: firstly, failure in formal ("theoretical") education is not followed by the additional penalty of extremely low wages for unskilled work; this in turn encourages young people with a practical bent to stay on the ball at primary and secondary school with a view to obtaining a good training place: it goes without saying that this side-effect itself has a favourable economic side-effect (high productivity). Secondly, young people who undergo training are "off the streets", and the individual incentives to achieve provided by the dual system immunize young people against what is often negative social pressure from peer groups; this curbs some of the main causes of crime, drug addiction, vandalism in schools, pregnancies among minors, etc.

However, the dual system also has a qualitative fascination. Unlike the "sequential model" that dominates in Europe - i.e. initial vocational training at school followed by further, on-the-job training in a firm (Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden) - the dual system brings young people into contact with the world of work at an early stage and so widens their horizons in terms of social experience. In so doing, the dual system socializes not on the lines of mere imitation ("sitting by Nelly") but through the authoritative relationship between master and pupil.[1] Learning in interaction with a professionally and pedagogically highly competent mentor not only leads to the rapid development of craftsmanship but above all produces the "extra-functional" skills that are so important for the development of the personality of young people, their ability to communicate and their employability: self-confidence, independence, willingness to learn, discipline and reliability. The fact that practical training is supplemented by general occupational and also social skills strengthens this link between practice and theory.

The admirers of the dual system also see it as a social institution which cleverly solves the problem of "externalities". As vocational training is a collective asset, it invites firms to become "free riders". Why do firms invest in "human capital" when it has legs and can be enticed away by rival firms? For one thing, the apprentices pay for much of their training themselves: while an 18-year-old "earns" about a third of an average skilled worker's wage in his trade under the dual system, young workers receive almost 100% of the average wage in France and 80 to 100% in Britain (Casey 1986: 66). As it does not take long for young people in training to become almost completely productive in many occupations (especially the crafts), the cost-benefit ratio for many firms is positive during the training period. For another, government (the *Länder*) pays for the in-school part of vocational training, and regulation (organized along tripartite lines) ensures that firms not only train young people for their own specific purposes but that they also satisfy stringent quality standards, which are examined and certified after training has been completed. As the employers have the biggest say in the examining bodies (chambers of crafts, chambers of industry and commerce), their interests cannot be ignored in training. In larger firms, which often spend more on initial training than small firms (e.g. because they invest in training workshops and additional machinery), internal opportunities for advancement and other principles of "internal labour markets" ensure that young people do not leave immediately they have completed their expensive training. As there is, moreover, no obligation on firms to employ apprentices after their training (journeymen or skilled workers), the dual system appears to be an extremely effective method of personnel screening when seen, for example, from the angle of new institutional economics ("transaction cost theory").

Fears

The list of fears to which the dual system seen as an "obsolescent model" gives rise is no less impressive. However, even more than the feelings of the admirers they stem from speculative expectations guided - and, no doubt, stimulated - by utopian alternatives, as the following quotations show: "Like the family, work no longer provides security or performs a protective function. People are thus losing an inner mainstay of life that emerged with the industrial era. ... The workload of the working community is shrinking, and the organizational principles of the employment system are being recast. The transition from the education to the employment system is becoming uncertain and unstable; a grey area of risky underemployment is coming between them. In view of these harbingers of change in the working community the occupational programming of the education system is becoming increasingly anachronistic. ... Inevitably, less emphasis is being placed on occupations, providing an historical opportunity for training to be imaginatively changed back into a redefined form of education" (Beck 1986: 222, 242, 243). Where the dual system is specifically concerned, it is concluded with incredible logic: "Experts agree that skilled workers will form a growing proportion of the unemployed in the future" (Beck 1986: 240).

As the pessimists see it, the dual system is thus based on an antiquated model of holistic production (homo faber) that no longer has a place in industry, let alone the service sector. The future belongs, they say, to the "flexible worker with a thousand occupations"; permanent flexibility, increased mobility and the life-long acquisition of skills no longer leave room for the emergence of occupational abilities and skills that forge an identity; the greater pace of change in qualification requirements is increasingly devaluing the rules of the occupation that dictate actions; the "skill collage" of the modern industrial world needs occupations, if at all, only as an illusion (Geissler 1991: 72).

A less speculative argument, but one that should be taken all the more seriously, is developed by Burkart Lutz: if our society generates and legitimizes social inequality with training certificates, there is undoubtedly a tendency towards the kind of training that seems likely to put the individual in a more privileged position. Skilled workers have far fewer opportunities to increase their incomes and gain advancement than engineers and technicians. However much firms may cry out for skilled workers, demand alone does not solve this motivation problem. Today's young people are increasingly turning to courses at technical colleges in which they can train to become technicians, engineers, management experts and economists (Lutz 1989: 11). Furthermore, the social stratum for which the dual system was a means of achieving social advancement is disappearing; at best, this process of erosion is being delayed by the second and third generations of foreigners and the streams of migrants from the East.

Are there still apprentices?

What now? Are there still apprentices? What are their future prospects if a sober view is taken?[2]

The trend in the numbers of apprentices (trainees) makes the pessimists' arguments look weak. The dual system was able not only to cope reasonably well with the baby boom of the 1970s and early 1980s but also to raise the relative level of training considerably, with the crafts providing a wider variety of training places than industry. However, without special public programmes (the basic vocational training and vocational preparation years) and without the cushioning effect of vocational training courses in schools, the shortage of training places would have been far higher at times. Leaving aside the shortages of training places due to structural factors in the new *Länder*,[3] the surplus of training places (18% of registered places were not taken up) was higher in 1990 than it had been for many years. In 1960 55% (women 42%) of 16- to 18-year-olds were being trained by the dual system, in 1990 75% (women 66%). The proportion of unskilled workers, 25% 20 years ago, fell to 10%. Youth unemployment (among 14- to 24-year-olds) has been below the national average for many years and lower than in any other European Community country bar Luxembourg (Tessaring et al. 1990: 37). There is no evidence of a relative increase in unemployment among skilled workers: since 1975 the ratio of unemployed people trained in companies or at vocational schools to the total number of unemployed has remained constant at about 0.75. The dual system also does a great deal to perpetuate sex-specific segregation in labour markets. Although younger women are beginning to go in for industrial and technical training, there has been little change in the scale of horizontal and vertical segregation. Young men and women have none of the eight most common courses of on-the-job training in common. The range of occupations in which young women are trained is also narrower. In 1989 one third (33.8%) of all female trainees were to be found in the five commonest occupations in which a recognized training can be obtained, as against just under a quarter (23.4%) of young men. Nor has the larger proportion of young women in training done much to change their greater bias towards social occupations, in which they can be trained only at vocational schools. Technical school training - for which no training allowance is paid - is more common among girls than boys: one third of girls are trained at technical schools, and over two thirds (69%) of the participants in in-school training are female. Under the dual system women have to make more adjustments to the labour market situation than men. The occupations in which young women are most frequently trained include those in which the number of unoccupied training places is disproportionately high; studies accordingly show that more women train for an occupation other than their first choice (Engelbrech 1991: 533). After their training women also change firms more frequently than men and, in so doing, suffer losses of income, whereas men are more likely to be able to use such changes to rise to a higher position and to improve their monetary situation. Foreigners too, especially young foreign women, are still badly underrepresented in the dual system. The employers and the federal government appear to have been making great efforts of late to tap this "reservoir" (and the 10% of young people who still fail to undergo training) to overcome shortages of workers.[4] The trend in the premature termination of training contracts is alarming, the initiative usually being taken by the trainee: 21.2% in 1989, compared with 13.6% in 1979. A further cause of concern is the finding that five years (1989) after completing their training (1984) only 40% of people trained for the metal-working sector were still employed in their occupations and that 28% had changed their occupations, even though this sector tends to complain of a shortage of skilled workers; the situation is similar in the electrical sector and in the commercial occupations. These figures can, of course, also be interpreted positively as evidence of a high level of flexibility, a view we will consider below.

Flexible coordination

Taking an overall view, the roots of the dual system seem strong enough to alleviate the deficiencies identified and to improve its strengths. The dual system is, after all, based on an attractive principle, which also points the way for the future: in pedagogical terms, the flexible coordination of learning and work and of knowledge and ability; in practical terms, the flexible coordination of individual and social requirements and of employers' and employees' interests.

Although quantitative and especially qualitative deficiencies of the dual system are there for all to see, they are far less malignant in labour market policy terms than in other, comparable industrialized countries - with the possible exception of Japan - with which the Federal Republic is in competition (see Commission of the European Communities 1991, Chapter 7). No reputable study has yet been able to prove that the large hard core of long-term unemployment is primarily a training problem; the chain of cause and effect is in fact reversed: the longer unemployment continues, the greater the loss of skills, especially "extra-functional" skills. The Federal Republic's competitive strength undoubtedly lies less in the above-average education and training of an elite than in the broad mass of people who have received vocational training (Finegold and Soskice 1988; Porter 1990; Steedman and Wagner 1987).

Although the attribute "dual" is rightly applied to the form taken by vocational training (i.e. the teaching of skills at a practical and a theoretical place of learning) in the Federal Republic of Germany, the organizational principle underlying its coordination is more of a "triadic system" in which government, the employers and their associations and the trade unions are involved (Streeck et al. 1987: 5). This system of coordination has remained largely intact and constitutes institutional capital that justifies optimism. While government provides infrastructure in many different ways - e.g. by assisting off-the-job training workshops to compensate for the shortcomings in the quality of training provided by small and medium-sized firms - it stays largely in the background when it comes to regulation. Essentially, it does no more than confirm the quality standards which the parties to collective agreements draw up by the consensus principle together with chambers and associations and with the backing of the professional expertise of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training. The unions thus have no incentive (like, say, the traditional *trade* unions) to restrict the supply of trained workers, while firms - even small ones - are required to meet minimum quality standards by the statutory training regulations. As the large firms, which usually demand a high quality, have a decisive influence on these standards during the actual process of curricular development, pressure for relatively high standards and thus for an acceleration of change in technological structures tends to emanate from them.

A successful example of the flexibility of cooperation between parties to collective agreements is the reorganization of the metal-working occupations. Although the process of reaching a consensus took a very long time, mainly because it involved difficult aspects of wage policy, the reduction from 42 occupations to 6 with 16 specialities was a successful response to the technological and labour market policy challenge (Streeck et al 1987: 74 ff.). Flexible coordination at organizational level also finds expression in the dovetailing and mutual stimulation of initial and continuing training. As has been said in various quarters, the "Baden-Württemberg employment miracle", for example, is due not least to this coordination, especially in the form of the regional further training associations based on Steinbeis's principles. In these associations the providers of initial and continuing training, i.e. firms, chambers of industry and commerce, chambers of crafts, district craft associations, guilds, professional associations, trade unions and adult education centres, cooperate, in varying combinations, with the trade supervisory authorities of the *Länder*, which ensure support with infrastructure and perform coordinating functions. This will be illustrated with an example of regional training centres (see Sorge et al. 1982: 120 ff.).

One such centre is the Tuttlingen vocational training centre, which is run jointly by the Konstanz chamber of crafts and the Schwarzwald-Baar-Heuberg chamber of commerce. The Tuttlingen centre was the first to offer a course in CNC milling as a compulsory part of training in the making of surgical instruments - a particularly specialized craft. As surgical instruments are often made specifically for certain hospitals or professors of surgery, they come in tens of thousands of different forms. Consequently, small numbers of each are made. CNC milling machines enable craft firms both to increase their productivity and to maintain a wide range of products. With the trade concentrated in this region and with the firms cooperating closely among themselves and with the chambers, the potential of CNC technology for all firms was quickly recognized "on the spot", and appropriate courses of initial and continuing training were developed in cooperation with the manufacturer of the machines.

The lesson to be learnt from this example is that, where there is close cooperation with the manufacturers of a new production technology, its users and the sponsors of local off-the-job training centres, an early reaction to technological advances and the consequent skill requirements is possible. Such flexible coordination is conceivable, however, only if the dual system of decentralized on-the-job training is complemented by a wide-ranging network of initial and continuing training centres closely linked to the business community. Baden-Württemberg shows that the dual system also leaves room for the flexibility that is needed at regional and sectoral level if there is to be evolutionary development.

It is beyond question that the principle of flexible coordination in the shape of the dual system will require further renovation and improvement as the single European market unfolds. The opportunity for this should, however, be seized in a public innovation and investment drive combined with concerted action by government, employers, trade unions, associations and vocational training centres, rather than the necessary upgrading of skilled work compared with training at school being merely invoked verbally or considered finished in a wildly speculative way.

In this evolutionary development of the dual system particular attention must be paid to the occupational segregation of the sexes. There is no doubt that the structural principles of the dual system - and especially the pedagogically important role played by company trainers - widen rather than heal rifts in the labour market; there are few signs of natural approaches to desegregation, such as the systematic promotion of self-employed women, master craftswomen and female company trainers. However, as the sex-specific split in the labour market is hardly less pronounced in social systems without dual initial training, it seems reasonable that approaches to the equal treatment of women in the labour market should also be sought outside initial training.

It will be imperative for higher school education to become more accessible to trained and experienced graduates of the dual system in order to allay the growing fear among trained young people that training by the dual system is a vocational cul-de-sac; conversely, more might be done to supplement courses at universities or technical colleges with practical training in firms. Some upgrading of ability compared with knowledge is indeed needed, but the two are inseparably linked; their simultaneous acquisition must be coordinated flexibly.

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Notes

(1) The heavy "male" bias in this relationship and its effect on women's prospects in vocational training will be considered later.

(2) Unless otherwise stated, the following information is based on Berufsbildungsberichte 1990 and 1991 and on Grund- und Strukturdaten 1991/2, both published by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science.

(3) The crafts were neglected in the planned economy, and the training capacities of the large enterprises (combines) had to be reduced as they were deconcentrated, privatized or rehabilitated, while the whole public infrastructure of the dual system (chambers, vocational schools, off-the-job training centres, vocational guidance) has yet to be developed.

(4) The newly introduced section 40c of the Employment Promotion Act now enables the employment services to make grants up to the basic training allowance rate to assist the training of foreigners and of Germans who have learning difficulties or are socially disadvantaged; this opens the door to more extensive public financing of the dual system.

The role of government and the two sides of industry in vocational training

The role played by government and by management and labour differs in the various Member States of the European Community. In Germany a complex system of institutionalized cooperation between government and the two sides of industry based on joint responsibility has evolved. Management and labour have considerable influence on the content and organization of training. Government merely creates a favourable environment. This ensures that adequate account is taken of practical requirements and that employees' interests are also appropriately considered. A sense of responsibility that rises above group interests is essential if the dual system is to be able to function.

Cultural diversity and traditions have resulted in the vocational training systems of the European Community countries evolving in different ways. At European level - and in the Member States - it is agreed, however, that in a situation of growing international competition Europe's quality as a location increasingly depends on a supply of highly qualified and motivated workers.

Ingeborg Weegmann

Deputy Head of the Labour Market and Vocational Training Department of the Confederation of German Employers' Associations

What responsibility government and the two sides of industry have in this sector is a question to which there is no answer valid for all the Member States because of the wide variation in the involvement of the two sides of industry in their training systems. In systems where initial training is largely confined to schools government plays a dominant role, and the participation of the two sides of industry is usually limited to an advisory function. Where, on the other hand, the training system is more closely integrated into the employment system, the two sides of industry have more opportunities to make their interests felt.

Under the dual system of vocational training in Germany, for example, there are generally institutionalized forms of close cooperation among the parties concerned (government, employers and employees). Here a long tradition and the Vocational Training Act have led to a complex system of relations between the two sides of industry and between each of them and the government institutions, the latter relationship being based on the concept of joint responsibility for vocational training. Concerted cooperation at the various levels, from the national level through the regions down to the individual firm, determines the policy decisions taken in vocational training. If this system is to function, however, it is crucial that the social groups look after their interests responsibly. This means, for example, both ensuring a modern form of training for young people that meets requirements and not taking advantage of the willingness and ability of firms to provide training by laying down overly strict rules.

The employer's responsibility

Under the dual system the main responsibility for initial training rests in principle with the employers and the self-governing bodies (chambers) that represent trade and industry.

The principle that firms are free to decide whether or not to provide training has proved successful. Almost all suitable firms do provide training because they are convinced of the need for investment in this sector if they are to remain competitive. Employers and employees alike see the advantages of in-company training primarily in the fact that it covers technical and organizational innovations and that activities at the workplace ensure the necessary practical experience is gained. It also enables general and social skills to be acquired. The transition to the employment system thus poses fewer problems than training systems confined to schools.

Financing of training

On-the-job training is financed by the firm. Training costs are treated like normal overheads and so reduce the firm's tax liability. This financing by individual firms is one of the cornerstones of the dual system. The market-economy orientation of training by the dual system makes for a supply of training places attuned to demand and for sufficient flexibility. It also encourages firms to compete with each other in offering attractive training opportunities with a view to recruiting the employees who will be needed in the future. German employers have therefore always rejected levies and funds because they tend to be bureaucratic and to entail high administrative costs. The expense is in any case borne by the employers. Corporate planning would be replaced with outside control.[1]

Subsidiary aids from government are, however, appropriate in cases where firms take on training tasks which are not their primary responsibility, which is to train suitable employees for the future. Such tasks include training measures for disabled people or people with learning difficulties that entail additional expense. After all, firms already spend some DM 27 billion on on-the-job training. Government's aim in assisting off-the-job training centres, particularly in the craft sector, is to put small and medium-sized firms in a better position to provide training, many of them being dependent on supplementary measures at such centres.

Government responsibility for schools

The *Länder* are responsible for instruction at vocational schools, which can perform their training task only if they have appropriate technical equipment and suitable teachers familiar with modern training methods.

The vocational schools spending on materials, equipment and staff is financed by government (*Länder* and municipalities).

The technical and organizational change in the world of employment is also making greater demands in initial training. If young people are to be more smoothly integrated into the vocational training system, the necessary foundations for the ability to undergo training and the willingness to engage in life-long learning must be laid while they are still in general education. In a recently published statement on education policy the umbrella associations of the German business community stated that the "dovetailing of the education and employment systems must result in the further development of general education as ... qualification requirements in the world of employment change". All pupils must acquire sound basic knowledge and receive basic training in information technology through the use of modern learning methods and new technical media. The emphasis must also be placed on general key skills (e.g. independent learning, teamwork, creative problem-solving, thinking in terms of whole systems). In addition, all pupils should be given a general and vocationally oriented introduction to the world of employment and business, with practical experience included (e.g. visits to and short periods of training in firms). When designing such programmes, however, schools must be assisted by firms.[2]

Government specifies general conditions

Government (at federal level) specifies the general conditions that firms must take into account in the training they provide. These conditions must allow for sufficient flexibility and for the different structures, sectors and sizes of firm. They include:

- the statutory foundations (Vocational Training Act and Craft Code)

- national standards for the 370 or so government-approved occupations in which a training can be obtained (federal regulations and framework curricula for vocational schools)

- minimum conditions relating to training contracts and training allowances, the latter being fixed in collective agreements

- minimum standards relating to the suitability of firms to provide training and the suitability of training staff, these standards being deduced from the Vocational Training Act and the training regulations

- a guarantee of supervision and monitoring, responsibility for this being delegated by law to the chambers as the appropriate agencies at regional level. The chambers arrange examinations and set up examining boards for this purpose.

Training content and requirements

It is agreed that the aim should be to provide vocational training for all young people who are capable of it. Both sides of industry take the view that training should be broadly based and enable the necessary practical experience to be gained. It should also form the basis for occupational mobility and continuing training. Greater importance is attached today to general (key) skills. In the new training regulations, e.g. those concerning the metal-working and electrical sectors, the two sides of industry have therefore agreed on a definition of vocational qualifications and explicitly included among the objectives of training the ability to plan independently and to perform and monitor tasks. This is intended to emphasize the relevance of general skills as well as the necessary specific know-how and skills for a successful career.

The drafting of the training regulations issued by the various ministries is time-consuming and labour-intensive (the Federal Economics Ministry is responsible for trade and industry). Training regulations set out the minimum requirements to be met by on-the-job training - the skills and knowledge to be taught during such training - and specify the examination requirements.

Training regulations are drawn up in sometimes lengthy processes by specialists from firms nominated by the sectoral employers' associations and trade unions concerned, often with the organizational assistance of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training. However, the trade organizations will have agreed on certain benchmarks in advance. This ensures that in the coordination process careful account is taken of the sector's specific interests and that the content of training is geared to the firms' current and foreseeable skill requirements. While the training regulations are being developed, experts in the *Länder* draw up the appropriate framework curricula for vocational school instruction.

The federal government issues training regulations only if all concerned, i.e. the employers' umbrella and relevant sectoral organizations (including the chambers) and trade unions, agree (consensus principle). Although all concerned basically approve of this principle, it may give rise to considerable delays and even result in reorganization procedures coming to a halt if the parties fail to agree.

The federal government also delegates to the two sides of industry most of the responsibility for decisions on the standardi-

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zation of training regulations, e.g. recommendations concerning examination requirements or the organization of oral examinations, confining itself by and large to endorsing the outcome.

Cooperation and responsibility in partnership

For cooperation among the groups involved in vocational training, statutory bodies have been created at all levels. Depending on the decision-making level, they consider questions of principle or aspects of the organization and further development of vocational training:

- At national level the central committee of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training is the forum for discussions on vocational training policy. This committee, which consists of representatives of the employers, employees, *Länder* and federal government, advises the federal government on questions of principle in vocational training and determines the Federal Institute's programme of work.

- Each *Land* has a committee to advise its government particularly on the relationship between vocational schools and firms that provide training.

- At regional level each chamber has a vocational training committee, on which the employers, employees and vocational school teachers are each represented by six delegates, the teacher's representatives acting in an advisory capacity. The committee must be consulted on all important aspects of vocational training and has the statutory right to lay down rules governing, for example, examination regulations and special arrangements for the disabled. The chambers also set up examining boards consisting of representatives of the employers, employees, and vocational school teachers.

- At the level of the firms the Labour-Management Relations Act gives the works council the right to be involved in the provision of vocational training.

The interplay between government and the two sides of industry is not, of course, always without its problems, since their interests differ. But the extensive involvement of the two sides of industry does facilitate the implementation of joint decisions on, say, new training regulations. If the system is to work, it is essential, however, for a broad basis to be found for practical cooperation that transcends the natural interests of the various groups, whatever fundamental differences of opinion they may have. For this a sense of responsibility is needed.

Continuing training

Continuing training calls for considerable flexibility and adaptability. The high level of formalization and regulation that characterizes initial training therefore has to be ruled out in this sector, since it would tend to hamper the development of continuing training. Consequently, there are only a few national continuing training regulations. For the joint identification of any need for regulation and for the specification of examination requirements, where necessary, the umbrella organizations of the two sides of industry set up a Continuing Training Coordination Group in 1983.

In a continuing training system guided by the principles of the market economy government action must focus on ensuring and promoting a structural variety of courses and providers. Apart from performing this regulatory task, government takes responsibility for promoting continuing training in the interests of social and labour market policy.[3]

Firms are the most important providers of continuing training. They arrange and finance over half of all schemes (the private sector spent some DM 27 billion on continuing training in 1987). The firms' main task is to ensure their own success by enabling their employees to maintain and develop their skills. However, the individual employee too must take steps to remain productive. The idea of government requiring firms to provide continuing training must be rejected because such an obligation is no substitute for the employee's own responsibility in this sphere.

In the distribution or financing of the costs incurred in connection with continuing training the main criterion continues to be the benefit derived from such training. This means that the individual as well as the firm must meet continuing training costs, especially if the employee pursues objectives of his own in this training. He should also make a greater contribution by undergoing continuing training after working hours. "The variation in the payment of the costs as a function of benefits and interests is an important element of the social market economy and, unlike collective financing arrangements, emphasizes

- the firm's responsibility to become competitive and to improve its competitiveness,

- the individual's responsibility for his future career prospects and

- government's shared social responsibility.[4]

Government responsibility for financing is needed primarily on social grounds where individuals, e.g. the unemployed, are unable to meet the expense of continuing training. The training of the unemployed in the Federal Republic is, however, largely financed from the employers' and employees' contributions to the Federal Institute of Labour, supplemented by tax revenues. Account must also be taken of other aspects that justify limited - never total - public financing of the individual's participation in continuing training.

In support of demands that firms continue to pay the wages of employees while they are undergoing training it is argued, for example, that only this approach will enable employees to pursue their interest in continuing training and motivate others who do not show this interest to participate in such training. The trade unions want to see such general rights to be released from work enshrined in collective agreements or the law. The employer would then bear the whole burden of responsibility. This would not only conflict with the abovementioned cost-benefit principle in continuing training but would also greatly overextend firms. Particularly where arrangements under collective agreements are concerned, it should be remembered that the demand for an agreement on time set aside for continuing training vies with demands for such things as wage increases, reductions in working hours and other factors that would increase labour costs. At best, the benefits derived from a real improvement in productivity can be considered for distribution.[5] A further crucial factor to be borne in mind in the case of collective agreements is the firm's own need for continuing training. It is not its task to train workers for the external labour market. Practical experience also confirms that blanket arrangements do not motivate people unaccustomed to continuing training to participate in suitable schemes: they have to be convinced of the benefits of appropriate continuing training and encouraged by offers of continuing training that match their potential.

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(1) See Kuratorium der Deutschen Wirtschaft für Berufsbildung
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(2) See Bildungspolitische Position der Spitzenverbände der - Wirtschaft: Differenzierung. Durchlässigkeit. Leistung. Bonn 1992

(3) See Federal Government. Berufsbildungsbericht 1990

(4) See Kuratorium der Deutschen Wirtschaft für Berufsbildung - Zukunftsaufgabe Berufliche Weiterbildung - Grundposition der Wirtschaft. Bonn 1990

(5) See Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände. Weiterbildung - Ziele. Nutzen. Verantwortung und Finanzierung betrieblicher Weiterbildung. Cologne. November 1989

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Shortages of qualified labour in Britain: a problem of training or of skill utilisation?

Possible underutilisation of skilled workers and engineers is as important a source of poor economic performance as shortages. The article explores some of the evidence for underutilisation of skilled personnel in British industry, and possible reasons for it. To some extent, skill shortages are a cause of underutilisation as they militate against a high degree of transparency in skilled labour markets. Greater transparency and more effective utilisation depend ultimately upon acceptance in the place of work, and hence upon negotiation between employers, employee representatives, and professional bodies.

Training policy in Britain, perhaps more than elsewhere, has been overshadowed by concern about economic performance. The experience of persistent skill shortages even during periods of high unemployment, and fears that recurrent skill shortages would stifle economic recovery, have caused attention to focus on numbers of skilled workers available. The generally lower numbers of people in education and training, and the often lower levels to which they are trained, have also been a long-standing concern in comparisons between Britain and its main trading partners (v. Prais 1989). The aim of this article is to develop another theme that has come to assume greater importance in recent policy debates, namely the use that employers make of qualified labour, and how utilisation patterns affect the incentives to undertake training.

Until recently, it was widely supposed that British employers also spent less on training than their counterparts in other industrial countries, so one might have concluded that Britain's skills problem was essentially one of inadequate supply. However, a major recent study (Training Agency 1989) has suggested that employer spending on training in Britain is considerably higher than previously thought, possibly as high as £18bn a year (based on 1986/87). Even allowing for major technical problems in the study's estimation procedures for in-company training, Ryan (1991) has indicated that employer spending could still be as high as £8-10bn per year, or about 3% of national income, more than the sums invested by either individuals or by the government.[1] If these estimates are indeed correct, then the problems of skill shortages suggest that inadequate numbers of people trained is only one part of the problem.

Alice C. Lam

Lecturer, Organisational Behaviour and Comparative Management at Manchester Business School (Manchester University).

David Marsden

Reader in Industrial Relations, London School of Economics.

'Utilisation' may be considered in two forms: failure to use existing skills to the full; and failure to exploit the full potential for skill development. The first is analogous to that of capital utilisation, and is relatively straightforward to measure, at least conceptually. The second meaning contains the idea that there is a potential demand for, and supply of, skill that is not being realised for one reason or another. It is not easy to measure, but its presence may be detected by analysing different scenarios and by comparisons. It has, for example, long been known that in the engineering industries, compared with Germany and France, Britain has generally specialised in simpler products with lower unit values even when considering narrowly defined branches (Saunders 1978). More recent detailed comparisons on a plant by plant basis carried out by the NIESR[2] confirm Britain's relative specialisation in products with a lower skill input than in Germany, and possibly also France.

Skill utilisation problems in Britain.

Vocational skills are provided by two main routes in Britain: professional or occupational training regulated primarily by employers, unions and professional groups; and a combination of general education and informal on-the-job training (OJT) in the enterprise. For skilled manual workers in industry and construction, apprenticeship remains a very important route. For white collar professionals, a common pattern is a mixture of state further or higher education and professional examinations.

For most other blue and white collar workers, informal on-the-job instruction remains the principal supplement to their general education. Current reforms of vocational training may be laying the basis for the third route, based on certified on-the-job training and vocational qualifications. In this section we look at the problems of utilisation for intermediate and engineer's skills, looking first at the static (existing skills) and then at the dynamic (potential skills) aspects of skill utilisation.

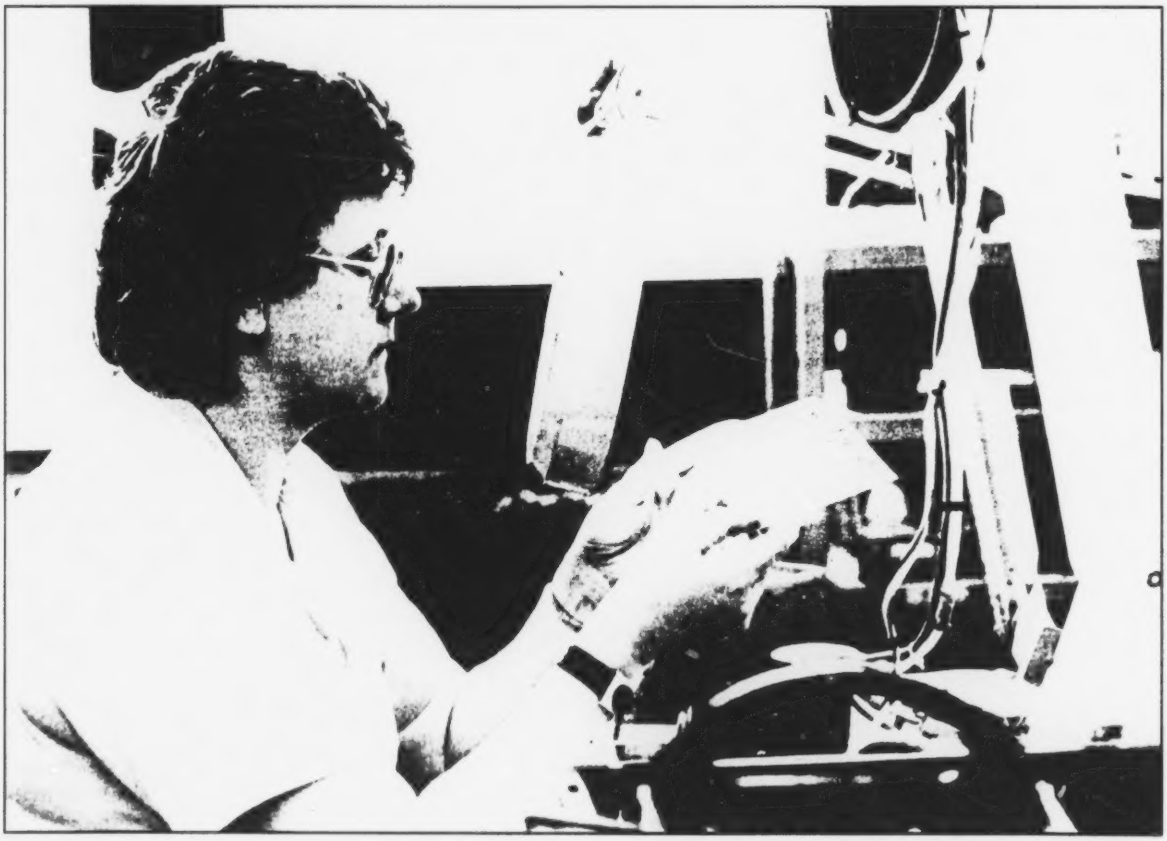
Underutilisation of existing skills

Craft and professional skills involve a degree of standardisation of training and jobs among firms. Otherwise, an inter-firm market for such skills could not function properly. In theory, such standardisation for both skilled manual workers and professionals should favour good utilisation. However, as concerns craft skills, some features of the system in Britain obstruct utilisation of skilled and other workers.

The first has been the inflexibility of skill demarcations both between different skills and between the skilled and the semi-skilled[illegible]. Tight restrictions on which categories of worker may undertake particular tasks increase the risk that people have to remain idle while they wait for someone to conduct routine maintenance, and increases the number of skilled workers needed for a particular operation. For example, some relatively simple jobs could require the simultaneous presence of a fitter, an electrician and a plumber, each of which would be responsible for particular elements of the job on hand. Such rules developed originally to protect the supply of work available for each of these trades, and so to guarantee a return on the workers' investment in training, but in the conditions of skill shortages of recent decades, they have reduced the effectiveness with which management may utilise their skills. As a result, they have probably intensified the shortages.

During the 1980s, many employers sought to negotiate changes in working practices to improve skill utilisation. Sometimes this took the form of flexibility agreements, and on other occasions, the changes were implemented unilaterally (Marsden and Thompson 1990). By the early 1990s considerable progress had been made, but judging by subsequent reports, many such demarcation rules remain. Generally it seems that employers have been more successful in blurring demarcations between skills, as this is often in the interest of skilled workers themselves, but less so in blurring those between the skilled and the semi-skilled.

Faced with such constraints on the use of skilled labour, one might expect employers to make more use of semi-skilled workers and informal on-the-job training. If used on an extensive scale, this too has serious diseconomies. Compared with the cost of apprenticeship training, relying on informal OJT may often seem relatively cheap, but this is because many of the costs are hidden, at least from most organisations' accounting procedures. The largest cost is usually an opportunity cost: the



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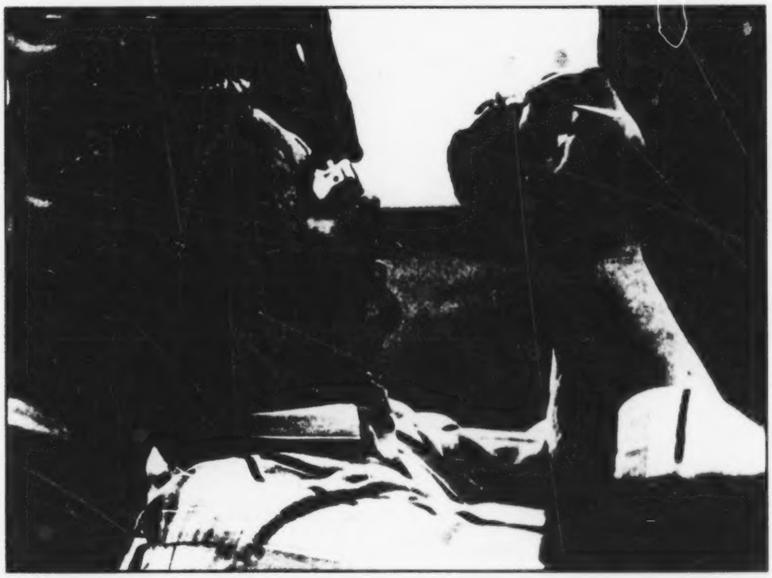

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time of experienced workers and supervisors giving periodic instruction and help to new recruits. That is likely to rise with the number of recruits to be trained at any one time, distracting experienced workers from their main tasks. In contrast, occupational training often has high set up costs, owing to the formal nature of instruction and supervision, but equally, it has declining average costs, as the initial costs are spread over a larger number of trainees. Therefore, compared with occupational training, as the number of trainees increases, informal OJT becomes relatively less efficient.

The existing pattern of skill demarcations effectively shuts off large areas of skilled work from upgrading of semi-skilled workers, such as might occur in France. Compared with France, the British system of access to skilled work via apprenticeship truncates the internal labour markets (ILMs) for semi-skilled workers, and so removes one of the incentives for them to acquire additional skills and responsibility (Eyraud et al 1990).

The limited scope of ILMs in Britain for semi-skilled industrial workers also means that employers have reduced incentive to retain such workers in a recession. This in turn engenders expectations of non-permanent employment among the semi-skilled, and may discourage the acceptance of skill enhancing tasks because tougher work assignments may carry greater risk of failure, or greater responsibility, and there is no corresponding reward of career advancement. Thus, the bottlenecks in the supply of craft skills also affect the training and utilisation for semi-skilled workers.

Engineers

Turning to engineers and related professionals, one of the commonest complaints of underutilisation is that young engineers are used to do work that could easily be carried out by technicians or skilled manual workers. It is widely believed that this is due to the shortage of skilled workers and to recruitment difficulties at the technician level (Thurley and Swarbrick 1990, Campbell and Warner 1991, Finniston 1980). Thus the shortage of intermediate skills causes some underutilisation of higher level skills.

There is considerable survey evidence that especially young engineers do not find their work to be stimulating or creative. One cause is the gap between expectations aroused by university training of a creative, problem-solving role, and the routine tasks to which they are assigned. According to a study based on in-depth interviews with 55 electronics engineers in six major UK electronics firms, the problem that they felt they were 'working well beneath their capabilities' was identified as a major source of their disillusionment with their technical roles (Lam 1989, and Thurley and Lam, 1990).[4]

A contributory factor to the underutilisation of young engineers lies in the narrow specialisation of their tasks. Although job demarcation rules of the kind dividing craft skills are absent, there is a parallel in the high degree of task specialisation, especially within various stages of the product cycle to be found among British engineers, at least as compared with similar types of engineers in Japan and Germany (Thurley and Lam 1989 b, Campbell and Warner 1991). Such narrow specialisation restricts the range of experience acquired by OJT, and inhibits development of hybrid skills and transmission of knowledge within the organisation, and thus limits their adaptability to changing demands from the enterprise.

Another failing of informal OJT is that it provides an unsystematic build-up of experience which may be wasteful. A complaint of the young British electronics engineers interviewed by Lam and Thurley was that the critical incidents that gave rise to their experience were not cumulative, unlike those experienced in the Japanese firms they surveyed.

The above factors have contributed to poor motivation among young engineers, and to high labour turnover and a widely held desire to move out of engineering work and into management. Yet the path to higher management is often blocked by the dominant position of accountants.

For both blue and white collar skilled labour, skills built up by informal OJT generally lack of transferability, and a large part of them is effectively scrapped when a worker changes firm, and remains unutilised in the new job. The impact of such skill loss with a change of employer is well illustrated in France where a greater proportion of skills are dependent on ILMs. There is a significant proportion of skilled workers who change jobs take up semi- or unskilled jobs in their new firms (Eyraud et al 1990).

For blue collar craft workers, this means that there is only a limited incentive to learn additional skills within their current firm, especially as this reduces the independence they enjoy as a result of their potential mobility. For white collar professionals, this means that those engineers who remain for more than a certain time with their current firm become attached to its internal labour market (Mace 1979).

Underutilisation of skill potential.

One possibility underlying the smaller numbers trained in Britain than in other comparable countries is that British employers are more careful to hire only the qualified labour they need. The fact that skilled wage differentials are not notably higher than in other Community countries could be taken to suggest that supply and demand are in rough alignment. This view leaves out one important consideration. The long term availability (or lack) of skilled labour may induce firms to adopt different product and production strategies. It was mentioned earlier that British engineering firms tended to produce goods of lower unit value than their German and French counterparts. It is possible that they were constrained to do so by a lack of suitably qualified labour for the higher value products.

The evidence on this score is tentative, but a series of case study comparisons of intermediate skills between Britain and Germany in branches of manufacturing indicate that the British firms produced simpler and less sophisticated goods using a combination of large batch production systems and predominantly semi-skilled labour (Steedman and Wagner 1987 and 1989). Under such circumstances, it is easy to see that these firms would have little use for highly qualified labour once the decision on markets and production methods had been made, and equally that without such labour being available, they would have experienced great difficulty in breaking into the more sophisticated product markets.

This problem has been described by Finegold and Soskice (1988) as a 'low skill equilibrium' since it has all the elements of a self-reinforcing circle of skill formation, production systems and product markets. While the argument has been developed primarily in the case of the availability of apprentice-based skills which have been in decline, it also has its counterpart in professional engineering skills. Studies by Campbell and Warner (1991), and Northcott (1986) found British mechanical engineering firms less able than their German counterparts to incorporate new technical shifts in their products. One of the responses of engineering firms to anticipated shortages of skilled and engineering professionals has been to contract out such work to other smaller firms, leading to a diminishing range of core skills in the firm[3]. This may pose few problems in a world in which product markets and technology are relatively static. However, in a world in which they are changing rapidly, the reduced range of skills in the core means that engineering firms are less able to anticipate new technical developments in either their product markets or production methods. It also reduces the opportunity for engineers to develop new skills appropriate to their changing environment.

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How do employers come to underutilise skills and skill potential?

A number of the problems underlying the underutilisation of skills in Britain can be analysed in relation to different kinds of labour market structure and skill system. These might be characterised as occupational or professional labour markets (OLM), 'internal labour markets' (ILM), and labour markets based on qualification levels (QLM).[6] The difference between each of these three types derives from problems of labour market information about the content and quality of skills, and the extent to which this is available to other than the employee's current employer. It hinges on the related questions of transparency and transferability of skills: OLMs and QLMs each offering different ways of codifying information about skill content and quality.

For many generations, one of the dominant forms of transparency has been provided by OLMs for particular skills, such as electricians or mechanical engineers. The cost of establishing such markets is considerable as they require a high degree of standardisation both as concerns training, and among firms, as concerns work organisation. There is also a considerable investment by both workers and employers in the basic training and subsequent acquisition of work experience. Although there has been an increasing amount of public financing of formal training off the job in such occupations, OLMs depend predominantly upon private regulation by the parties concerned (Marsden 1986).

As concerns blue collar skills, and to some extent also, engineers' skills, OLMs have proved very vulnerable to skill shortages in recent decades. The problem arises out of the very transparency and transferabil-

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ity of skills that should favour a high degree of skill utilisation. There is some evidence that before the Second World War, the combination of long apprenticeships and low apprentice pay enabled employers to provide apprenticeship training for a relatively low cost (Ryan 1986). However, the detailed estimates of costs borne by employers for the 1970s, suggest that the net cost to them of training an apprentice was equivalent to between one and a half and two years' gross pay of an adult skilled worker. This cost had been boosted by the gradual rise of apprentice compared with adult pay, by the increased quality of apprenticeship training demanded by the Industrial Training Boards, and by the shortening of apprenticeships.

Under these conditions, the OLMs for skilled blue collar workers proved highly vulnerable to shortages. Given the transferability of the skills and the high net cost borne by employers, it became attractive for some employers to 'poach' skilled workers from other firms instead of providing training themselves. Once such practices become widespread, they serve as a strong disincentive against providing apprentice training because of the expectation that the former apprentice will leave for a job elsewhere. In Britain, from the 1960s, such problems have been endemic for skilled labour causing a general problem of insufficient training and declining rates of apprentice training.

The shortage has had a number of effects, notably, increasing the bargaining power of skilled workers, and so making it harder for employers to negotiate the changes in working practices that would lead to more flexible utilisation. It may paradoxically have reinforced demarcations in another way, by encouraging employers to confine skilled workers to the core of their area of specialisation, and so delaying moves under way in other countries to more flexible patterns of deployment. This may have boosted utilisation in the first sense, but reduced it in the second, that of developing skill potential.

The problem is similar, but more severe, for engineers. Although much of the basic training is provided in educational institutions, engineers still need experience and continuing training and skills updating, especially in the face of rapid technical change. This can prove costly to employers.

Fear of poaching has caused many British employers to adopt solutions that appear to be 'second best'. It has led them to rely on rather unsystematic OJT compared with Japan. By doing so, they can minimise the investment at stake when someone leaves. It has also pushed them to use subcontracting as a means of economising on skill needs and hence training, and to use relatively low paid graduate engineers as cheap labour for tasks that could be done by skilled manual workers or technicians.

A solution to the poaching problem seems to have been found in Germany. At the same time, and under similar economic conditions that led British employers to cut their training budgets and the number of apprentices, in Germany, the number of apprentices was greatly increased. Three factors appear responsible for these developments. First, Germany had not got into the vicious circle of shortage and poaching to which apprentice training in Britain had succumbed. Secondly, the cost of apprenticeship training to employers was kept down by somewhat lower apprentice pay levels than in Britain. And thirdly, peer group pressures from employers' organizations (notably the chambers of industry and commerce and the employers' associations) and support from the trade unions helped to foster a consensus that training rates should be maintained and even increased.

In the absence of collective action by firms to ease poaching, one solution open to firms is to seek to retain skills by making them less transparent and less transferable to other employers. This can be done by fostering ILM conditions. According to Mace (1979), the dramatic increase in employment stability of engineers after their first five years arises from their integration into enterprise ILMs.

In many ILMs, the employer has only a vague idea of the skills contained within the workforce. Few British firms have centralised information on the pool of skills held by their employees of the kind held by many Japanese firms in their skills data banks. Lack of transparency may therefore also be a feature of ILMs, and indeed there are several reasons why this might be so. First, the incidental nature of much OJT means that its acquisition is monitored only by the employee's work group and immediate supervisors. If OJT is unsystematic for as critical a category as young engineers, there is every reason to suppose that the same is true of less skilled categories. Secondly, if the fear of poaching is strong, then firms have correspondingly less incentive to codify internally developed skills and to systematise information on internal skill availability as this could be used by potential poachers. The lack of effective information systems means that many potential skills remain unrecognised and untapped. In contrast, the Japanese firms, confident of the long term commitment of their employees, could develop elaborate internal skill development and skill information systems (Lam 1992, Gota 1986).

A final consideration that has been raised in connection with the shortcomings of employer-based training in Britain for both OLMs and ILMs is the problem of long-term finance. Soskice (1992) has argued that capital markets in Germany and Japan, combined with the closer involvement of financial institutions in the firms they support, enables managers in those countries to take a long term view of many investments, and notably training. In Britain, the demand for short-term profitability makes such long term investments much harder for managers to undertake.

Skill utilisation: the role of the state and social partners.

It may seem paradoxical that skill shortages should contribute to underutilisation. The cause lies in the fact that the information needed to enable firms make the best use of their workforces' skills, also makes it easier for other firms to poach away their skilled labour. This applies most strongly to OLMs because of the greater degree of transparency and transferability of skills, but it may also affect ILMs albeit to a lesser degree.

A reduction in the extent of poaching by other firms would facilitate greater investment in training and so ease one important

cause of underutilisation. The evidence for Germany suggests that peer group pressures among employers have helped to avoid shortages and to curtail poaching. Close union and works council involvement in apprentice training have also helped to make low apprentice allowances acceptable to adult workers thus reducing the cost of apprenticeship to employers (Marsden and Ryan 1990). Thus, overall, a considerable amount of collective regulation from both the workers' and the employers' side has helped to maintain the viability of apprenticeship training in Germany.

It is unlikely that Britain could simply copy such collective regulation of apprentice training given the long time required to build up relations of mutual trust and cooperation among the parties involved. Nevertheless, a degree of employer and union involvement has been sustained in the past through the industrial training boards, and to a lesser degree at present through the employer led Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) which took over much of the government's responsibility for organising training in 1991. However, the training involved remains mostly below apprenticeship level, the TECs' prime job being to take over Youth Training (the successor to the YTS).

There is some question as to whether apprenticeship has been allowed to decline too far in Britain to be revived as the basis for intermediate level skills across the whole economy. Even at its height in Britain, it never extended far beyond manufacturing and construction, unlike its German counterpart which covers also a large number of white collar and service occupations. The rapid pace of technical change, and the consequent blurring of boundaries between mechanical, electronic, and hydraulic skills, as between craft and technician levels have also caused many to ask whether the British apprenticeship system could be adapted. Similarly, for professional engineers, there is a question of whether there is a need to reform the curriculum programmes of higher education to reduce the degree of specialisation. For blue collar skills, great advances were made from the 1960s in the introduction of more rigourous theoretical training, and in developing forms of multi-skilling among crafts. However, unlike German apprenticeships, those in Britain are not integrated into a broader system of technical training but stand out as a barrier to upward mobility by semi-skilled workers, and as technician and engineering training have come to involve a greater input from further and higher education, it has become harder for those trained in craft skills to advance further.

Yet to abandon apprenticeships in favour of enterprise specific training in ILMs would seem retrograde given that British firms do not have the tradition of long term employment that has been the key to successful in-company training in large Japanese firms.

One solution to the poaching problem that has been proposed recently is that a system of 'training credits' should be introduced to be used for both theoretical and on-the-job training. The idea is that by attaching the subsidy to the individual to be trained two problems would be overcome: employer reluctance to train because of the cost would be reduced; and individuals would shop around for the highest quality training on offer. Thus the problems of quantity and quality could be simultaneously resolved. It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine such schemes in detail. However, it is unlikely to work unless the problem of transparency is solved. Unless workers have good information about the nature and quality of training on offer, it is hard to see how they could use the credits to good effect, and it is not difficult to imagine that, faced with a shortage of training places and jobs, some workers might be tempted to use their credits as a sort of employment subsidy.

Against the background of decline of OLMs and the problematic nature of ILMs, the development of a system of transparency in labour markets based upon levels of qualification combined with work experience certified as to its quality and scope is a potentially attractive option. Developments on these lines can be seen partly in the attempts by the French to integrate a greater component of workplace practice into their intermediate level training that is based in vocational schools, and in recent work in Britain setting up a system of national vocational qualifications (NVQ).

The recent reforms of Youth Training, in theory at least, entail a mixture of theoretical training and on-the-job experience certified up to UK NVQ Level 2 (EC Level 1).

This is a modest beginning. Nevertheless, a system of qualification based labour markets combining theoretical training and certified work experience, supported by a reformed system of finance, has a number of advantages over both ILMs and OLMs as they exist in Britain. With regard to the former, it offers transparency, and independence of skill from a worker's current employer. With regard to the latter, it offers a more generalisable system of labour market qualifications, and potentially, a more integrated system firm basic to advanced qualifications, giving workers greater opportunities for advancement in later life.

Finally, all systems of vocational qualifications are only valid if accepted in the workplace, and thus have to be accepted by both employers and their employees. A system based on qualification levels would only work successfully if accepted by all interested parties, which suggests an important role for negotiation.

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Notes

(1) It is possible that if the same accounting procedures were applied to employer expenditures on training in other countries, their own expenditures could be upgraded.

(2) National Institute for Economic and Social Research, London. These studies include Steedman and Wagner (1987 and 1989).

(3) Safety and efficient use of skills dictate a degree of specialisation, but comparisons with German skilled workers suggest that the demarcations need not be as narrow as in Britain.

(4) The following complaints were common:
'There is such a high turnover rate because people don't feel they are getting the right design experience. What they are doing is a lot of product support and documentation process, you really have a lot of '0' Level design type work...'
'I am not working under pressure. Don't really enjoy it. I am not getting much experience. Nothing like I expected to get... Well I am contemplating looking for jobs elsewhere. The same sort of job, but with different companies. Probably a small to medium type company.'

(5) It appeared that often these smaller firms were the ones in which many of the young engineers would have preferred to work because of the perceived greater autonomy and richness of work experience (Lam and Thurley 1990).

(6) An ILM for a particular job may be defined as occurring when employers regularly fill certain vacancies by redeploying or promoting their current employees. The second type, the OLM, exists where a particular skill is recognised in other firms either by virtue of a diploma or by peer group acceptance, and is therefore transferable among firms. It is often associated with patterns of regulation by trade unions or by professional associations. The third type is more recent, and depends upon educational and vocational qualifications that are certified as reaching certain levels.

(7) The length of the apprenticeship period has a great effect on the net costs borne by employers since the value of apprentices' productive contribution is much greater in the final years of apprenticeship.

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European Communi[illegible]
International organiz[illegible]
Maryse Peschel
Documentation, CED[illegible]

Bibliography

I - European Community policy and EC Commission actions

1 - The social dialogue

Joint opinions
Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs; Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth (TFHR)
Brussels, "European Social Dialogue, Documentary Series", TFHR (1), 1981, 82 pp.
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT

This compilation gives the background to the European social dialogue and brings together the joint opinions of groups set up by the social partners. Their work has covered employment, mobility, new technologies and youth and adult education and training, on each of which they have evolved a joint opinion.

Joint Opinion on access to continuing training
Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth (TFHR)
Brussels, supplement to issue no. 2 of the TFHR Newsletter (1), 1991, 8 pp.
DE, EN, FR, NL

This Joint Opinion is the outcome of the work of the "Education and Training" group in the Social Dialogue set up by the social partners, the aim being to improve and extend employees' access to training throughout their working lives.

The role of the two sides of industry in initial and continuing training. Documentation of the conference on 8 and 9 November 1988 in Brussels

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1989, 35 pp.
DE, EN, FR
ISBN 92-826-0661-9

Based on research conducted by CEDEFOP on this subject and analyses conducted in all the Member States, the aim of the conference was to arrive at an interim review of several years' work and make suggestions, proposals and recommendations for the development of the social dialogue in the field of vocational training. This report contains the main papers given at the conference and summarizes the findings of individual working groups.

2 - Social rights

Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers
Commission of the European Communities
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1990, 21 pp.
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-826-0976-6

The report contains the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights, covering freedom of movement; employment and remuneration; improvement of living and working conditions; social protection; freedom of association and collective negotiation; vocational training; equal treatment for men and women; workers' information, consultation and participation; protection of health and safety in the working environment; and the protection of children, adolescents, the elderly and the handicapped.

First report on the application of the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights (presented by the Commission of the European Communities to the European Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee)
Commission of the European Communities
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1991, 300 pp. + annex
COM (91) 511 final
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-77-78567-5

The Commission has issued its first report in compliance with paragraphs 29 and 30 of the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, under which it is required to draw up an annual report on the application of the Charter by Member States and the European Community. The first part of the report describes what the Community has achieved, the second part covers national achievements. The difficulties that still remain are outlined in the third part. A summary table is provided in the annex to illustrate progress with Community initiatives.

3 - Training

Commission Memorandum on Vocational Training in the European Community in the 1990s
Commission of the European Communities
Brussels, Office for Official Publica-

tions of the European Communities, 12 December 1991, 28 pp.
COM (91) 397 final
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-77-76636-0

This memorandum is the outcome of a discussion with the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training, whose membership is tripartite at both Community and national level. It describes the new challenges in the years to come and the achievements in building up a common policy on the basis of the 1963 principles, proposing guidelines for the Community's future action. This memorandum is part of a programme of work for the Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, which states that the general principles formulated by a decision of the Council on 2 April 1963 should be updated.

Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community
Commission of the European Communities
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1991, 52 pp.
COM (91) 349 final
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-77-75835-X

This memorandum lists a series of initiatives that might be deployed in the Community in order to meet the new challenges to higher education, such as population trends and the need for skills. It stresses that the European dimension should be taken into account in higher education and defines the Commission's role as that of a catalyst, facilitating joint actions and cooperation while allowing for the diversity of systems. The report identifies the fields that are critical to the development of higher education as follows: participation in and access to higher education; partnership with economic life; lifelong training; open and distance learning; and the European dimension.

Annual report on the Implementation of the Reform of the Structural Funds
Commission of the European Communities
Brussels, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 4 December 1991, 124 pp.
COM (91) 400 final
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-77-78342-+

This report, produced in pursuance of the Regulation of 24 June 1988 on the reform of structural funds, is a detailed review of the implementation of Community Support Frameworks and of progress with the coordination of instruments both with each other and with other financial instruments. It is also an account of the preliminary findings from the evaluations that have been initiated.

Synopsis of the Activities of the Task force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth in 1989/1990
Commission of the European Communities, Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth (TFHR)
Brussels, "European Social Dialogue, Documentary Series", TFHR (1), 1981, 2982 pp.
EN, FR

This report is a general review of the varied range of the Commission's activities and concerns as well as Community cooperation on human resources. A brief historical review of the objectives and developments is provided for each programme, initiative or activity. The report closes with a summary of international relations established with Central and Eastern Europe, the EFTA countries, the United States and the international organizations dealing with problems of education and training.

4 - Employment

The labour market. Social Europe: initiatives and texts adopted in the social field in 1990
Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1990, 20 pp.
DE, EN, FR
ISSN 0255-0792

The aim in this issue of Social Europe is to give a picture of the various actions organized by the Commission in the field of employment. The chapters in the first part are on the following subjects: The European labour market, employment observation, programmes of action and structural interventions of a financial nature. The second part is a compilation of all the texts adopted on the subject in 1990.

Euro-Labour Markets: the Prospects for Integration
Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, European System of Documentation on Employment (SYSDEM)
Brussels, ECOTEC (2), 1991, 200 pp.
SYSDEM Papers: 4
Papers in EN or FR
ISSN 0-86354-586-6

This report contains the main papers given at the conference on "European Labour Markets: the Prospects for Integration", held in Birmingham on 11 and 12 April 1991. The principal subjects tackled there were the trends on the labour market and in the working population, the Social Charter, developments in industry, job mobility, skills and the social dimension, skill shortages and the effects of the domestic market on sectors. Most of the papers are in English, with a summary in French.

Skill shortages in the European Community
European System of Documentation on Employment (SYSDEM)
Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs
Brussels, ECOTEC (2), 1991, 30 pp. + annexes
SYSTEM Papers, 1
EN
ISBN 0-86354-585-8

A synthesis of 12 national reports on skill shortages in EC Member States. The national correspondents were asked to consider: definitions of skill shortages by sector, region, occupational and educational attainment; trends; studies which have addressed changes and prospects for skills caused by the EC internal market. A full bibliography is given for each country, together with information on statistical sources (vacancy statistics, regular surveys of employers, ad hoc studies, etc.). The opening chapter provides a general overview and highlights the national variations which have emerged.

II - Role of the social partners

L'Europe, le social et les syndicats
CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail)
Paris, in La vie ouvrière CGT, no. 2435, 1991, pp. 18-38
FR
ISSN 00399-1164

This dossier is a panoramic picture of social policies and union forces in Europe today, covering the current issues in debate and research, the process of social dialogue that has been initiated and the experience of European companies (Thomson, Saint-Gobain, BSN), providing a comparative table of Member States' social policies and shedding light in particular on the situation in unified Germany. The final section discusses the diversity of trade unionism in Europe (rates of unionization, union distribution) and current issues in this field.

Lemke, H.
Employees' organizations and their contribution to the development of vocational training policy in the European Community
European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1989, 124 pp.
DE, EN, FR
ISBN 92-825-7735-X

Castin, F.
Employers' organizations - their involvement in the development of a European vocational training policy
European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1989, 103 pp.
DE, EN, FR
ISBN 92-825-7207-1

These two studies are an addition to CEDEFOP's research on the role of the social partners in European Community countries. They review the role of the social partners in the development of a Community policy for vocational training and place them in the context of Community agencies and initiatives.

The role of the social partners in vocational education and training, including continuing education and training. Summaries of the reports of Member States of the European Community
European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1989, 203 pp.
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-826-1175-2 (EN)

The publication contains summaries of the reports from the European Community Member States on the role of the social partners in vocational education and training. They do not all follow the same format, but they all consider the degree of involvement of the Government, trade unions and employers' associations and discuss the extent of their contribution to the development and funding of training policy and practice.
Note: Consult CEDEFOP's list of publications for details of national studies still in print.

Les syndicats et l'Europe
Paris, in Après-Demain, no. 328, 1990, 38 pp.
FR
ISSN 0003-7176

This issue reviews the unions in Europe and their European representatives. It describes the EC's Economic and Social Committee, where the dialogue between employers and workers in the Member States is taking place. It lists the fora for Social Europe and the European social dialogue. The Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) and the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail also set out their views on European integration, especially as it affects training in Europe.

Plett, P.C.
Unions and vocational training
International Labour Office (ILO)
Geneva, ILO Publications, 1992, 20 pp.
EN
ISBN 92-2-108345-4

This booklet is the result of an ILO programme for 1990-91 to identify the problems encountered by unions in extending their vocational training services and to further their interest in training. It is a manual to assist unions in planning, promoting and implementing training- and retraining-related activities.

III - Employers' training policy

Dupont, G.; Reis, F.
Survey on the policy of continuing training in large firms
European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1989, 67 pp.
EN, FR
ISBN 92-826-3151-6

This survey is based on case studies on four or five major companies in Belgium, Spain, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The aim has been to identify the current attitudes and activities of large companies in the field of continuing training. It discusses certain questions. Is human resource management seen as part of the company's strategy? What are the formats, structure and procedures for training? How is training given and who is being trained? The survey also has annexes containing the guideline used for the survey interviews, the main features of training and training policy.

Grafe, J.P.; Elliot, J.; Gelli, R.; et al.
De betrokkenheid van de bedrijven bij voortgezette opleiding - L'implication des entreprises dans la formation continue - Corporate involvement in continuing education
Brussels, 28-29 November 1991
Institut Européen pour la Formation Professionnelle (IEFP), Office Communautaire et Régional de la Formation Professionnelle (FOREM); Vlaamse Dienst voor Arbeisbemiddeling en Beroepsopleiding
Brussels, IEFP, 1991, various page numbers
Contributions in EN, FR or NL
IEFP, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honore, F-75370 Paris Cedex

Basic information

Selective List of Community and International Organizations
European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)
Berlin, CEDEFOP, Flash 7/91, 23 pp.
DE, EN, FR

This (non-exhaustive) list gives particulars of European Community institutions and bodies and employers' and employees' organizations, as well as the leading bodies operating in the field of vocational training.

Social Portrait of Europe
Statistical Office of the European Communities (EUROSTAT)
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1991, 142 pp.
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, GR, IT, NL, PT
ISBN 92-826-1748-3

This is an information publication that sheds more light on Europeans in the form of a social portrait of Europe viewed from various angles: population, households and families, education, employment and unemployment, working conditions, living standards, social protection, health, the environment, housing, leisure and recreation and "Euro-participation".

Structures of the Education and Initial Training Systems in the Member States of the European Community
The Education Information Network in the European Community (EURYDICE), European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) and Commission of the European Communities: Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training anu Youth
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1991, 199 pp.
DE, EN, FR
ISBN 92-826-2692-7

This volume is an introduction to the administration of education and initial training and the bodies responsible in each EC Member State. It gives brief descriptions of pre-school, compulsory and post-compulsory education, vocational education, apprenticeship and other forms of basic vocational training provision. Some general statistics on pupils, teachers and public and private education are included, as well as an outline of curriculum and assessment procedures. The description follows the same format for each country, facilitating a comparison of the systems.

(1) Communities: Task Force Human Resources, Education, Training, Youth
Commission of the European Communities
Rue de la Loi 200
B-1049 Brussels
Tel.(0032) 2 235.60.46 / 235 32.56
Fax (0032) 2 235.01.05

(2) European System of Documentation on Employment (SYSDEM)
John Penny
ECOTEC
Square de Meeûs, 25
B-1040 Brussels
Tel.(0032) 2 511.20.58
Fax (0032) 2 511.25.22

B

FOREM – L'Office communautaire et régional de la formation professionnelle et de l'emploi

VDAB – Vlaamse Dienst voor Arbeidsbemiddeling en Beroepsopleiding

CIDOC – Centre intercommunautaire de documentation pour la formation professionnelle

ICODOC – Intercommunautair documentatiecentrum voor beroepsopleiding

Boulevard de l'Empereur 11, B – 1000 Bruxelles, Tel. 02 513 93 20 – Ext. 1001

Actes de la lutte contre le chômage: les opérateurs d'insertion
Association pour le Développement, l'Emploi, la Formation et l'Insertion Sociale (DEFIS)
In Défipresse, 74, 1991, Brussels, pp. 4-26
DEFIS, avenue Clémenceau 10, B-1070 Brussels

This special issue, devoted entirely to efforts to combat long-term unemployment in Belgium's French community, describes the various socio-vocational integration schemes that may help young people and the long-term unemployed to find jobs. In 1990, "integration practitioners" have directed their efforts to help the long-term unemployed towards more than 3,000 people aged over 25 and some 2,000 under-25s.

Insertion à Bruxelles: Politiques et dispositifs
Association pour le Développement, l'Emploi, la Formation et l'Insertion Sociale (DEFIS)
In Défipresse, 67, 1991, Brussels, 23 pp.
DEFIS, avenue Clémenceau 10, B-1070 Brussels

The whole of this issue is a description of the new or remodelled schemes for the integration of young people into work. In describing the schemes, developed by the new political authority in the Brussels Region that came into being in June 1989, the aim is to give a faithful picture of the crop of new initiatives in this field, the administrative bodies - reorganized or newly set up - to support the efforts, and the policies being implemented by the professionals and the decision-makers, the Regional deputies. This dossier also contains useful articles on the Association's work in catering for and training certain target groups of young people at risk who need help in entering the labour market.

Vlaams Ekonomisch Verbond (VEV)
Protokol aanwending geld Tewerkstellingfonds is primeur voor Vlaams sociaal overleg
In: Snelbericht, Antwerpen, 10, 1991, p. 6-7.
VEV, Brouwersvliet 5 bus 4, B-4000 Antwerp

On 6 March 1991 Flemish employers' organizations and trade unions signed a protocol laying down specific commitments for the use of resources from the national Employment Fund. At the same time the Social and Economic Council for Flanders committed itself to a more vigorous approach by the Flemish Employment and Training Service (VDAB) to the use of the "0.18-0.25%" resources for at-risk groups. The employers' organizations undertook to submit proposals, in co-operation with the VDAB, to the Employment Fund for employment projects as part of the "Weer-Werk" ("Back to Work") scheme. The Fund will be asked to provide resources for the staffing and operational costs of extra "Back to Work" teams, over and above the current extension of the scheme to the whole region. The VDAB facilities are to be made known to all sectors. To fund training provision the employers' organizations and trade unions propose a 50-50 split between resources from the Employment Fund on the one hand and the VDAB and employers on the other.

Vlaamse Raad
Samenwerkinsgakkoord tussen de Staat, de Gemeenschappen en de Gewesten betreffende de herinschakeling van langdurig werklozen
Brussel, Vlaamse Raad, 1991; 109 pp., item 525, no. 1.
Vlaamse Raad, Natieplein 2, B-1000 Brussels

This is the text of the agreement between the Belgian government and the country's communities and regions on cooperation in alleviating long-term unemployment. The parties to the agreement undertake to provide the long-term unemployed with additional training opportunities and to stimulate job creation. The commitments include:

- on the part of national government, to replace the daily reporting requirement with fortnightly checks;
- on the part of the Flemish Community, to provide 1200 new courses for at-risk groups and to expand the "Weer-Werk" ("Back to Work") supervision and guidance scheme for the unemployed;
- on the part of the French Community, an interview, information and guidance scheme;
- on the part of the Walloon Region, to make systematic provision for guidance and action to help all job-seekers in their seventh month of unemployment;
- on the part of the German-speaking Community, close cross-border cooperation with German training partners and an expanded range of courses;
- on the part of the Brussels Region, establishment of a crèche to help people attending job interviews and cooperation with the Public Social Welfare Centres.

DK

SEL

STATENS
ERHVERVSPÆDAGOGISKE
LÆRERUDDANNELSE

Rigensgade 13
DK–1316 København K
Tel. 01 14 41 14

Training in School and Enterprise in the Construction Industry
Product Report on the Petra Research Network
Birgitte Elle, Birthe Hedegaard, John Houman Sørensen
SEL, 1991

In this report there is an analysis of the roles of the state and the social partners in the construction industry, including a comparison of the specific configurations in the British, the Danish and the Dutch system. In the UK, unlike Denmark and the Netherlands, social partners have very little influence on the nature and content of training provision. In the Netherlands and Denmark political interest is concentrated on regulation of the training process, on the input side. In the UK interest has shifted with the introduction of the NVQs to the output side - outcome, performance and competence. Also the importance of social recognition of vocational training by the social partners seems to be very different and is traditionally very strong in Denmark.

Lovbekendtgoerelse nr. 211 af 5. april 1999 om erhvervsuddannelser (Act on vocational training)
Undervisningsministeriet
Copenhagen, 1989, 10p.
Schultz, Moentergarde 21,
DK-1116 København K

This act constitutes together with act no. 210 on vocational schools a complete reform of vocational training in Denmark. Important elements of the Act are: the alternating training structure, a complete training system with the possibility of fewer specific training strands and with room for both old and new specializations. The admission to the vocational schools is free. The act covers vocational training equivalent to the existing apprenticeship training, basic vocational training (egt) and basic training of technicians.

Lovbekendtgoerelse nr. 480 af 22. juni 1990 om erhvervsuddannelser (Regulation on vocational training)
Undervisnings- og Forskningsministeriet
Copenhagen, 1990, 12p.
Schultz, Information, Ottilievej 18,
DK-2500 Valby

This regulation based on the new laws on vocational schools and vocational education and training, is the central instrument in directing the new system. Important elements of the regulation are: rules on approval of establishing training in new trades, principles of governing education and training by management by-and-with objectives, and requirements for schools and companies in the dual system.

GR

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ & ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ
ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΚΟ
ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ

Pedagogical Institute
Ministry of National Education
and Religion
396 Mesogeion Street
GR–Athens

Bosnakoudis, A.
EEDE - ELKEPA
Oi aichmes sto dory tis epangelmatikis epimorfosis (Helienic Society of business Administration - Greek Productivity Centre. Spear-heads of vocational training)
Information, 62, 1991, pp. 46-49; diagramas.

The need for developing human resources and the European funds for training programmes have opened up new horizons in vocational training in Greece. Managers of the organizations mentioned in the title comment on the training programmes which these institutions provide, the problems which they face, and the increasing demand for such training programmes. In conclusion, they suggest that the authorities should generate a catalogue with reputable institutions which provide crediblte training programmes, in order to protect people from deceptive offers.

Vlassopoulos, G.
O rolos ton syndikaton stin epangelmatiki katartisi ton ergazomenon (The role of unions in the vocational training of employees)
Deltion Enosis Ellinikon Trapezon, 28, 1990, pp. 118-125

The speaker refers to seven basic points related to the role unions play in the vocational training of employees. These points are the following:

1. The importance of vocational training;

2. The targets of employers in this sector;
3. The goals of unions on the same matter;
4. Common points and targets which may appear;
5. Conflicts which may appear;
6. The attitudes of employees;
7. A report on related international experiences and the proposals of the OTOE (Banks Confederation) on the subject.

Vretakou, V.
Metavoli ton ergasiakon axion kai technologiki exelixi: synepeies gia tin politiki ton epicheiriseon kai gia tin ekpaideftiki politiki
(Change of work values and technological development: consequences for the policy of enterprises and for the educational policy)
Ekpaidefsi kai Epangelma, 3(1), 1991, pp. 59-73; bibl.
ISSN 1011-3622

The concern of the present review article focuses an the following questions:

- How the values concerning the work and the profession of industrial workers are being shaped.
- To what extent these values have changed during the last years.
- The expectations which the workers have from their profession are today contrary to the expectations which prevail in the world of work, expectations which arise as a result of the introduction of new technologies in enterprises.
- Which conclusions emerge regarding: a) the educational processes and b) the strategy of the enterprises for the organization of work and the training/further training of the personnel.

Committee of the Ministry of Education
Prosfati nomothesia tou Ypourgeiou Paideias gia to «Ethniko Systima gia tin Epangelmatiki Ekpaidefsi kai Katartisi»
(New legislation by the Ministry of Education on a National System of Vocational Education and Training)
Ypourgeio Paideias, Epitropi Eidikon, 1991, 15 p.
Mitropoleos IS-10/85 Athens.

The present Government passed in Parliament a new Ministry of Education legislation on Vocational Education and Training (VET). The philosophy of the new law is to complement the existing network of vocational education schools, which functions within the formal education system with a flexible network of public and private training centres. The flexible training component of the new VET is proposed to rely heavily on the creation of a free training market. The training policy proposed by the committee has three pivotal axes:
1) Decentralization. Emphasis is placed on decentralizing the quality of delivery.
2) Institutionalisation. The new training supply will closely relate to the labour market situation.
3) Flexibility. In accordance with the general European trend the committee proposes flexibility in training provisions and delivery modes .

E

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Instituto Nacional de Empleo
Condesa de Venadito, 9
E-28027 Madrid
Tel. 408 24 27

Beneyto Perez J.
La formación profesional como objeto de dialogo social.
In: Revista de Treball, January-April 1991 p.145-167
ISSN: 0213-5809

This document analyses the current state of affairs and future perspectives for participation of the social partners in vocational training, taking into consideration technological changes, occupational profiles, the legislative aspects for intervention in vocational training. It makes reference to economic and social agreement and to the different training programmes and the way the social partners participate: the FIP plan (training and occupational integration), programmes facilitating the transition from the education system to the labour market, vocational training and continuing training programmes.

Real Decreto 1618/1990, de 14 de diciembre, por el que se regula el Plan Nacional de Formación e Inserción Profesional (Royal decree of 14 December on the National Plan for Vocational Training and Integration).
Published in: "Boletín Oficial del Estado", No 303, Madrid 1990 (Official Journal)
pp. 37848-37858
ISNN: 0212-033X

This examines the legislative framework governing the occupational training and integration plan (FIP) managed by the national employment institute. Its topic is the vocational training cited in Law 1/90 of 3 December on the education system (LOGSE): vocational integration, continuing training in the enterprises, collaboration between the employment and education ministries in adult training, the setting up of the permanent observatory on occupational changes.

Especial LOGSE
In: "Comunidad Escolar" No 290 (School Community) 26 September 1990, 8 pages
Centro de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Alcala, No 34, E-28015 Madrid

This contains a number of articles on the law on the education system (LOGSE). They comment on the management and formulation of major new aspects before their implementation and explains the content of the law. The articles contain varying opinions and assessments of the law made by the main trade union and employer bodies and by pupil and parent associations. The document also summarizes the historical changes in the education system.

Jornadas sobre política de empleo juvenil (Days on employment policy for the young)
ed. Consejo de la Juventud de España, Madrid 1990, 91p.
ISBN: 84-505-9749-8

This is a collection of papers presented by the trade unions, the administration and the employers at this assembly which was organized by the Spanish Council of Youth (CJE) to debate current employment policy for young people. The document is composed of three thematic chapters looking in various perspectives at training measures, integration in employment. The first chapter examines working conditions while the second analyses the success of programmes for promoting youth employment and in particular programmes focussing on integration and on vocational training. The third chapter deals with the training offered.

Saez F., San Segundo M.J., Krause W., et al.
Formación profesional y sistema productivo; Ed. Fedea, Fundación de Estudios de Economia Aplicada, Madrid, 1991, 249 p.
ISBN: 84-86608-04-X

This work is composed of the various papers presented during the days organized by the FEDEA during which debate focussed on changes in the structures and production process and their consequences for the working sphere, in general.
Part of the document is devoted to an analysis of the different training paths in Spain, training needs in the enterprises and strategies developed to these ends. Attention is also given to existing problems and to an assessment of official training policy as is implemented at present.

F centre inffo

Tour Europe [illegible] 07
F–92080 Par[illegible]ense
Tel. (1) 47 78 [illegible]

1 - Human resources in collective negotiations

GAN: gestion prévisionnelle de l'emploi, formation, mobilité. Accord du 23 avril 1990
Législation sociale C3-6377, 21 May 1990, pp. 1-7
Liaisons sociales, 5 avenue de la république, F-75541 Paris, Cedex 11.

GAN is the fourth largest employer in the insurance industry in France. This publication sets out the full text of its agreement with the unions on the forward management of employment, training and job mobility.

Mallet L.
La gestion prévisionnelle de l'emploi et des ressources humaines
Paris: Editions Liaisons, 1991, 200 pp.
Editions Liaisons,
avenue de la République,
F-75541 Paris, Cedex 11.

The main purpose of this book is to suggest a framework for global analysis and a rational outline for the forward management of human resources. Its second aim is to explore grey areas, discuss certain major methodological problems and look at current solutions. It also describes the circumstances in which a human resource management approach is of value to the employer. The final section is on the role of human resource management in small and medium-sized enterprises and in the public sector.

La modernisation négociée
Partenaires no. 9, 1990, pp. 1-30
Partenaires, 62 boulevard Garibaldi, F-75015 Paris.

The concept of "negotiated modernization", the subject of this article, covers all forms of public-sector aid to companies and industries with a view to promoting the forward management of jobs and changes in the organization of work. The word "negotiated" is indicative of the importance attached to the role of the social partners. This supplement to the journal Partenaires is a review of the policy on support for enterprises and the reactions of the social partners. It cites seven case histories in different sectors, as well as the findings of a survey of a thousand heads of enterprise on the forward management of jobs.

2 - Legislation, training policy

La formation, un enjeu stratégique. La loi du 31 décembre 1991, une première étape
Inffo-Flash, special issue, January 1992, pp. 1-12.
Centre Inffo, Tour Europe, Cedex 07
F-92049 Paris La Défense

The Law of 31 December 1991 essentially embodies the arrangements made under the inter-industry agreement of 3 July 1991. It modifies the existing training system in four fields: young people's integration into work, access to training for employees, employers' financial participation and procedures for negotiation and consultation on training.
This special issue describes the major innovations in the field of vocational training introduced by the law.

Le droit à la qualification, nécessité économique, exigence sociale
Inffo-Flash, special issue, July 1990, pp. 1-8.

This article on the right to qualifications, and the economic need and social demand for skills, is a general description of the law of 4 July 1990 on "training credit" and the quality and monitoring of continuing training.

Mandon T., Assemblée Nationale
Rapport d'information sur l'insertion professionnelle des jeunes.
Rapport d'information no. 2085
Paris, Journal Officiel, 6 June 1991, 125 pp.
Journal Officiel,
26 rue Desaix,
F-75015 Paris

Successive policies on integration into the working world have not counteracted the rise in youth unemployment. This report to the French National Assembly by its Committee for cultural, family and social affairs analyzes the status of this group and its employment, evaluates the effects of integration policies and suggests six broad guidelines for action and 23 proposals on redirecting efforts designed to help young people in difficulties.

Andrieu J., rapporteur
Draghi M., coordinator
Pour l'Europe de 1993: mieux se qualifier - Propositions pour les jeunes du CAP au baccalauréat professionnel
Paris: Haut Comité Education-Economie, April 1991, 52 pp.
Haut Comité Education-Economie, 110 rue de Grenelle, F-75007 Paris.

This report by a working group set up by the senior Committee on education and the economy is based on an evaluation of training for young people at levels V and IV in four EC countries: West Germany, Great Britain, Portugal and Spain. It goes on to analyze the French cases, describe the points of convergence and formulate six proposals, one of which is to reinforce alternance training.

La formation professionnelle continue (1971-1991)
Formation Emploi no. 34, 1991, 154 pp.
La Documentation Française, 29 quai Voltaire, F-75007 Paris.

This issue of Formation Emploi is a review of twenty years of continuing training in France. It reports on the effects of the system and sets out the views of those who took part in the initial negotiations in 1970 and 1971, describing the creation of the continuing training system and comparing the original aims with what has now been achieved. It considers the training policy of employers in relation to employees' individual projects. It also contains a bibliography.

Comité Central d'Enquête sur le coût et le rendement des services publics.
La formation professionnelle continue: objectifs et moyens de l'action des pouvoirs publics
La Documentation Française, 29 quai Voltaire, F-75007 Paris.

This report looks at the organization and operation of the continuing training system set up by the authorities. It offers seven recommendations: regroup consultation agencies and reorganize the facilities, streamline consultation arrangements, simplify monitoring and place greater stress on the assessment of results, help with tailoring supply to demand, increase the public resources for careers information and give more thought to the procedures for public-sector support for training.

3 - Cooperation between the school and the employer

Bouchon M.,
ENNA - Ecole Normale Nationale d'Apprentissage
INRP - Institut National de Recherche pédagogique
Ecole Europe entreprise: formation professionnelle niveaux IV et V - Actes du séminaire ENNA de Nantes, 29-31 mai 1990
Cibles, special issue, May 1991, 250 pp.
CIBLES ENNA, 23 rue du recteur Schmitt, F-44072 Nantes Cedex 03

This special issue of the journal Cibles contains the proceedings of a seminar held in Nantes on 29, 30 and 31 May 1990 on the subject of the School, Europe and the Enterprise, organized by the Ecole Normale d'Apprentissage in Nantes. It contains many papers on the development of skills and new methods of training, alternance, partnership between the school and the employer and the apportionment of training roles between the educational system and the workplace in Europe.

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Richard Breen
Education, Employment and Training in the Youth Labour Market
The Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI)
Paper No. 152, Dublin, 1991, 98p.
ESRI, 4 Burlington Road,
IRL-Dublin 4

This research work found that participation in a training programme added between 16 and 20 points to the probability of getting a job at the time of completion of the programme. Participation in a temporary employment scheme added between 23 and 37 points. These results are evidence that such labour market programmes are partially effective. The author found some indication that young people who were unemployed and who had participated in a temporary employment scheme could expect to spend a shorter time in unemployment than those who had not participated. Having participated in training programmes at an earlier date was found significantly to reduce the time spent unemployed. The author suggests that more attention ought to be given to prevention of the problem that schemes are meant to address and that attention be given to the pre-school environment and the complex set of relationship between families, communities and schools.

Brenda McGennis
Job Training Scheme - Evaluative Report
Dublin, FÁS, 1991

An evaluation of the Job Training Scheme (JTS) was carried out in 1991. This scheme for young people which is an industry-based training programme was introduced on a pilot basis with the co-operation of employers and trade unions. A case study approach was adopted in this evaluation. The majority of the people interviewed were in favour of the JTS but requested specific changes. The scheme was seen by the author to provide a good basis for improvement.

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Ge Vries, B. en B. Hovels
Afgesproken!: onderzoek effectiviteit CAO-afspraken over scholing: effecten van scholingsafspraken in de CAO
Institut voor Toegepaste Sociale wetenschappen (ITS)
Nijmegen: ITS, 1991, 111p.
ISBN 90-6370-801-7

This survey, carried out by the Institute of Social Sciences in Nijmegen, by order of the RVE, Advice on Adult Education and funded by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, is intended to describe the effects of training arrangements decided in Collective Labour Agreements (LA's). In order to achieve this, three studies have been carried out in the CLA's concluded in the Road Transport sector, the Metal Industry and AKZO-Nederland. The study involved interviews with negotiators, intermediary bodies and companies and departments where the training activities have to take place.

Industriebond FNV
Arbeid en opleidingen: arbeidsvoorwaardelijke aspecten van opleidingen: uitgangspunten en argumenten van de industriebond FNV bij onderhandelingen over opleidingen
Amsterdam: Industriebond FNV, 1990 - 32p., Ill
Industriebond FNV,
P.O. Bus 8107,
NL-1005 AC Amsterdam

Companies are devoting more and more attention to the training of their employees. The costs and time involved in training result in employers and employees negotiating more often on training programmes. Management and union officials are often faces with questions like: should training be given in or outside working hours and should participants pay a share of their training costs. This brochure comprises arguments that can be put forward by union members in negotiations on the working condition aspects of training.

Verijdt, H.
De instroom van nieuwe doelgroepen in het leerlingwezen
Nijmegen, Instituut voor toegepaste sociale wetenschappen (ITS), 1991.
VI, 183 pp., appendices, bibliography, tables.
ISBN 90-6370.832.7

This report sets out the results of a study, initiated by the Ministry of Education and Science, into the inflow of new target groups into the apprenticeship system. The study focuses on the effects of measures to encourage new groups to enter the apprenticeship system and on the developments that have taken place and compares the training situation and job prospects of members of the new target groups with those of traditional apprentices.

Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen
Hoofdlijnennotitie R.O.C.'s: een notitie over de vorming van regionale opleidingscentra
Zoetermeer: Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 1991, 34 pag.
Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen,
P.O. Box 25000,
NL-2700 LZ Zoetermeer

This paper describes the introduction process of the new legislation, SVM, KVE 1991, VAVO Act and WCBO, and discusses the formation of the ROC (Regional Training Centres) to the point to which new legislation will apply. This outline paper provides a clearer picture of the policy concerning the entire field of vocational and adult education.

Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen
Kabinetsreactie rapport Tijdelijke Adviescommisse Onderwijs en Arbeidsmarkt
Zoetermeer: Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, 1990, 64 p.
Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen,
P.O. Box 25000,
NL-2700 LZ Zoetermeer

A Cabinet response to the advisory report "Education-labour market via an effective route" (May 1990), in which the Rauwenhoff Commission makes recommendations for the improvement of the coordination and interaction between vocational education and the labour market. The response in general terms. The response to the following components: qualifications required to start, schooling for working people, autonomy for schools, dualization (a combination of studying and working) and co-makership (cooperation between schools and the business community). A reaction to the recommendations, including those concerning the above-mentioned components. An action programme devised by the Cabinet for the realization of an improved coordination or interaction. Budgetary aspects of the proposals.

De Bruijn, E. en E. Voncken
MBO en Bedrijfsleven scholen samen. Samenwerking tussen MBO-scholen en bedrijven; eindrapport
Stichting Centrum voor Onderwijsonderzoek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam (SCO)
Amsterdam: SCO, 1990, 96p.
SCO-rapport 240
ISBN 90 6813 275 X

Recent years have seen increased concern for the coordination and relationship between vocational education and the business world or work field. This (renewed) concern is particularly evident in various policy measures of the national government to bridge the supposed gap between vocational education and the business world. This gives the collaboration between schools and companies a new chance. In 1989, the Foundation Centre for Research in Education (SCO) carried out a survey of the cooperation arrangements between schools for senior secondary vocational education and the business community. The research comprised three parts: a telephone survey of nearly 300 companies and institutions on the amount and nature of cooperation with the MBO, - seven case studies of the regional cooperation arrangements between MBO schools and companies in their area. The results have been recorded in three reports. The report in question concerns the final report on the research. It also covers the results of the case studies in more detail. The other reports are called: Wanted, the MBO, and Cooperation in practice.

Tjdelijke Adviescommissie Onderwijs-Arbeidsmarkt
Onderwijs-arbeidsmarkt: naar een werkzaam traject
Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom H.D. Teenk Wiilink, 1990, 115 p.
ISBN 90-14-04545 x

The Education-labour market Commission has seen set up as a temporary advisory commission by the Ministry of Education and Science, to make "unorthodox proposals" for the improvement of the relationship between education and the labour market. The commission has elected for an approach based on an exchange between the different actors, - individuals, companies and (semi)government bodies, schools and the government, - within education and the labour market. The most important conclusion is that each of them is limited in its capacity to react effectively and flexibly to changes in the environment and changes in needs and desires of the other actors. A solution to the problem can only be found in improved cooperation between all the actors. This advice is concentrated on vocational (preparatory) education. The report has two parts: part 1, arrangements, is based on the attitude that education and schooling in the total socio-economic policy can be an important instrument, but only together with a thorough review of roles and by new arrangements; the second part action programme, classifies the recommendations made by the Commission, thematically and, where possible, provides an indication of the time progression in the implementation.

Wallage, J.

Profiel van de tweede fase voortgezet onderwijs: voorstellen voor een betere toerusting van scholen en leerlingen in de tweede fase voortgezet onderwijs

The Hague, Ministry of Education and Science, 1991, 98 pp., appendices, tables. ISBN 90.346.2510.9.

This paper describes the main features of policy and a series of instruments aimed at giving direction and support to innovation in the second (post-16) phase of secondary education, including the links with the first phase of secondary education on the one hand and with higher (academic and vocational) education on the other. The paper was prompted by the problems that have been identified in post-16 secondary education, among them:

- mismatches between vocational education and the demands of the labour market,
- the large numbers of youngsters who leave education without completing their course and/or without qualifications,
- inefficient learning routes,
- disparities in the participation rates of different social groups.

If the situation is to be improved both the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of participation must be kept in view at all times.

Rbo-rapportage/ Rbo-projectmanagement

In: SVM-informatie (1991) no. 45, pp. 2-27. Appendices.
SVM, postbus 94,
NL-3980 CB Bunnik.

A report on the progress being made on the establishment of regional education offices (Rbos). An account of developments in Intermediate Vocational Education (MBO) and adult education is followed by a description of the core functions and methods of the new (tripartite) employment services organization. Then comes a description of the job of the Rbos, touching on market strategy aspects of their role. Finally, various key statistics are given for each Rbo region, such as the number of institutions providing vocational and adult education, the number of coordinating centres for elementary adult vocational education, and so on. The current position in each region regarding the establishment of Rbos is outlined.

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Ferrão, João et al.

Disparidades regionais de formação: avaliação do sistema educação/formação e elementos para a definação de politicas de ambito territorial

Lisbon, IEFP, 1991, 126 p.

The object of this study, which forms part of a programme to investigate training and regional development in Europe up to 1993, is to examine the influence of the relationship between vocational training and territorial development in Portugal which varies according to region. The study gives the characteristics of the education/training system, i.e. general organisation of the education system, vocational technical education, vocational training structure, methods of financing. Case studies relating to two regions are included. In conclusion, the author defines integrated regional policies.

Aprendizagem: forma profissional de jovens em alternancia

Lisbon, IEFP, 1990, 13 p.

Information given in brief on the alternating vocational training system for young people - its characteristics, the type of training provided, work obtained, training privileges; a list of Employment Centres or Training Centres where more detailed information is available.

Acordo Econômico e Social Lisbon, Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social, 1990, 26 p.

An agreement signed on 19 October 1990 under the Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social by the Government and employees' and employers' representatives to consolidate a plan of commitments and economic/social policy guidelines, especially in respect of labour and consequent amendments to work, employment and social security legislation by dealing with various subjects in these fields. The need for agreement in defining employment and vocational training policies in this context is emphasised, in particular vocational training, as the most effective way of producing the manpower essential for the operation of enterprises and national and local administration.

Accordo de Politica de Formação Profissional, Lisbon, Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social, 1991, 64 p.

As part of the implementation of the Social and Economic Agreement signed on 9 October 1990, on 30 July 1991 the Government and representatives of employees' and employers'

signed the Vocational Training Policy Agreement. This covers six areas: the improvement of links between training and working life, entry to the labour market by the most disadvantaged persons, intensification of continuing training, social agreement over the definition, development and implementation of employment and training policies, encouragement of the examination and ordering of training and employment statistics, and cooperation within the Community countries.
The draft laws relating to this agreement are given in an appendix.

Quadro legal da formação profissional - Decree-Law no. 401 of 1991, Lisbon, DR no. 238, series A of 16 October.

A law governing vocational training activities in the education system and in relation to the employment market.

Enquadramento legal da formação profissional inserida no mercado e emprego. Decree-Law no. 405 of 1991, Lisbon DR no. 238, series A of 16 October.

This law, which governs training of this nature provided by enterprises, training centres and other employing or training bodies, is designed for those working for others, the unemployed and those seeking their first jobs.

Regime geral dos cursos de pre-aprendizagem. Decree-Law no. 383 of 1991, Lisbon, DR no. 232, Series A of 9 October.

This law lays down the conditions for the organisation of pre-apprenticeship courses to provide young people who left school without completing compulsory education with the equivalent of the education they missed.

Quadro legal da certificação profissional (already approved and about to be published).

This framework establishes the vocational certification system based on training in relation to the employment market or on vocational experience.

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British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education

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Tel. 01 636 5351
Telex 268350 ICSA

1) School-enterprise relationship

Incomes Data Services
Industry Links With School
Incomes Data Services (IDS), London, April 1990, 20 p.
(IDS Study 456)
IDS, 193, St. John's Street,
UK-London EC1V 4LS

The declining number of school-leavers coming onto the labour market has given employers more reason to cultivate links with schools. The Government's encouragement for business/education partnerships and its programme of educational reform have also stimulated more contact in which employers can work with schools. There are also case studies showing how six employers in different industries are developing their links with schools.

Council for Industry & Higher Education - Department of Trade and Industry. **Collaboration between business and higher education: policy and strategy for companies.**
HMSO, London, 1990, 35 p.
ISBN 0-11-514694-6

This booklet is designed to help those in senior positions in business who are concerned with creating a positive purpose and a clear sense of direction for their organisations' working relationships with higher education institutions. Collaborative activity between business and higher education is growing steadily in volume, value and importance to both sets of partners. From the company's point of view, a productive relationship with higher education can make a major contribution to its competitiveness and business performance.
Many companies also see involvement with higher education as part of their wider social and civic responsibilities.

Council for Industry & Higher Education & Department of Trade and Industry.
Collaboration between business and higher education: continuing education and training.
HMSO, London, 1990, 41 p.
ISBN 0-11-514698-9

This booklet aims to demonstrate now collaboration between business and higher education can bring about more effective continuing education and training. It is written for a mixed audience from both business and higher education and thus aims to explore both perspectives.

White, M. and Horton, C.
Corporate support for higher education.
Policy Studies Institute, London, 1991, 35 p.
ISBN 0-85374-507-2
The Council for Industry and Higher Education commissioned and supported the Policy Studies Institute to

carry out a study of major private sector companies. The aim of the study was to establish the scale and composition of these large companies' support for higher education and to identify trends. The study develops earlier work by the Council in helping companies to review their activities with higher education.

National Curriculum Council.
Work experience and the school curriculum.
National Curriculum Council (NCC), London, 1991, 37 p.
ISBN 1-872676-47-2

Work experience on employers' premises is an important part of the school curriculum. It helps schools to meet the aim of the 1988 Education Reform Act to prepare pupils for "the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life". Since the education (Work Experience) Act was passed in 1973 most schools and local education authorities have established schemes. By 1988/89, 91% of schools arranged work experience for some pupils, and 71% of pupils took advantage of work experience during their last year of compulsory schooling. It is government policy that all pupils should have a period of work experience between the summer term of Year 10 and the end of Year 11. Under the extension phase of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) all pupils are required to have a period of work experience.

National Institute for Adult Continuing Education.
Work experience in adult training.
NIACE, London, May 1991, 28 p.
ISBN 1-872676-47-2

Planned work experience is of growing importance in the learning process. Its significance for the learner is widely recognised, both in curriculum planning and in assessment practice. Periods of planned experience in a workplace are now integral to the curriculum of learners in schools and further education colleges, and for providers of training. Through such methods as work shadowing and monitoring, planned experience at work is also often used to develop the skills, knowledge and competence of employees, to build new skills onto existing ones, in order to prepare for a new career.

2 - Training policy, legislation

Education and training for the 21st century vol. 1 & 2
Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1991, 42 p. + 65 p.
ISBN 0-10-115362-7
EN

Volume 1 of the white paper contains the government's plans to improve and develop the education and training systems for 15-19 year olds. It explains how it intends to meet the needs and aspirations of young people going into work towards the end of this century and in the early part of the next. It is also a response to the rising demand from employers for more and higher level skills.
Volume 2 describes the proposed legislative changes, removing further colleges and sixth form colleges from local authority control, and introducing direct government funding of all colleges, through newly appointed councils.

Tuckett, A.
Towards a learning Workforce.
National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE)
London, 1991, 30p.
NIACE, 19b, de Montfort st., UK-Leicester LE1 7GE

If the UK is to achieve economic success and individual fulfilment everyone must be enabled to improve their skills and knowledge. Yet several groups are often overlooked when employers make their investments in training. There is a collective social obligation to provide for the disadvantaged and underprivileged. Experience shows that this obligation will not be met merely by relying on market forces and the self-interest of employers, but is a role for the government.

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